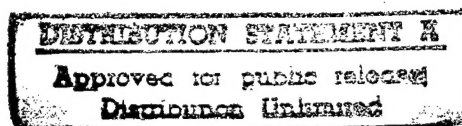




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# ***JPRS Report***



## **China**

***QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]***

***No 21, 1 November 1990***

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## On Inculcation

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in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 90 pp 2-6

[Commentator's article]

[Text] An important Marxist principle as well as the party's fine tradition in ideological and political work is to inculcate scientific socialism in the minds of the working class and the broad masses of laboring people, making it a guide to their actions. However, this tradition was also weakened along with the weakening a few years back of ideology and ideological and political work, and the principle of inculcating Marxism was pounded at and opposed by bourgeois liberalization; hence, the surfacing of ideological confusion of all descriptions. Therefore, the clarification of what inculcation is, why it is indispensable, and how to do a good job of it under the new conditions are certainly very important to augmenting ideological and political work in the new period and to guaranteeing that the reform, opening up, and socialist modernization under way will march along the orientation guided by Marxism.

The inculcation we refer to is precisely to conduct propaganda and education in scientific socialism; that is, to propagate, educate, and arm the masses with the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method, so that they may see the basic law governing social development, have a clear picture of the basic interest and historical mission of the working class, firm their faith in socialism, establish the lofty ideal of communism, and work hard for it. Inculcation was imperative in the revolutionary period prior to the seizure of power; but in the construction period in the wake of seizing power, such inculcation should not be relaxed. Relaxing such inculcation means giving up political and ideological leadership among the people and the communists' historical mission.

Marx and Engels, in their direct participation and leadership of the workers movement, worked hard to initiate revolutionary theory, changing socialism from being utopian to scientific. Moreover, they attached great importance to the spreading of revolutionary theory. In a more explicit and profound way, Lenin expounded the principle of inculcating Marxism, and took an active part in advocating and earnestly practicing "inculcating socialist ideas and political consciousness in the minds of the proletariat." Aiming at the opportunist ideological trends characterized by worshipping spontaneity in the socialist movement, Lenin repeatedly stressed in his famous works, including *What Is To Be Done?* (*Burning Questions of Our Movement*), that it was impossible for the consciousness of scientific socialism to rise spontaneously in the workers movement, and such consciousness could only be inculcated externally. True, the working class was "inborn with socialism" because of their oppressed and exploited position, but, restricted by subjective and objective factors, they were unable to initiate revolutionary theory. Relying on their own strength, the best they could achieve was spontaneous

consciousness of unionism. The scientific socialist ideological system, which reflects the historical place and mission of the working class, was created by intellectuals like Marx and Engels who had mastered resourceful knowledge of science through arduous in-depth scientific research on the basis of summarizing experiences of the international proletariat's struggle, while absorbing mankind's fine ideological and cultural accomplishments. Only by inculcating this scientific ideological system in the workers' movement while making such ideology the workers' own and linking Marxism to the workers movement would it be possible for the working class to see their place, role, and historical mission to realize conversion from the class-in-itself to the class-for-itself in a genuinely organized class to wage class-to-class struggles against the entire capitalist class, which oppressed and exploited the working class. Only then would it be possible for the workers movement to get rid of the bondage of spontaneous tendencies and develop into the proletarian revolutionary movement aiming to overthrow the capitalist rule and system of exploitation and oppression.

Over the past 100 years or so, the "specter" of communism that was haunting Europe has gradually developed into an international communist movement with a sweeping momentum, winning victories that spread from one to many countries, while breaking through the unified domain of the exploiting system. Progress has been made in the social changes characterized by socialism replacing capitalism despite the ups and downs of a rugged path, and such changes are a historical trend independent of people's will. We can see from such changes the great power of the Marxist truth as well as the important role of spreading and inculcating Marxism. Without the extensive spread of Marxism in Russia, there would not have been the October Revolution and its victory. Likewise, without the extensive spread of Marxism-Leninism in China, there would not have been the new democratic revolution and its victory in China, and the tremendous successes of the socialist revolution and construction would have been out of the question. Historical experiences have taught us that we must adhere to the principle of inculcating Marxism firmly and persistently in adherence to and development of the socialist cause.

The principle of inculcation was proposed in the period of the proletarian revolution, but why should adherence to it be necessary in the period of socialist construction?

First, it is out of the need to build and develop the socialist cause. Socialism did not rise spontaneously from the old system, but had to be created by the working class and the laboring people through revolutionary struggle under Marxist guidance. Likewise, socialist construction and development do not take place spontaneously, but need Marxist guidance, too. The Chinese working class has long been a class-for-itself, and the leading class at that, but, because of the continuous renovation and expansion of its rank and file and

the effects of external factors, the change from a class-in-itself to a class-for-itself cannot be completed once and for all. Therefore, it needs to pay attention to getting rid of spontaneity and continue to elevate its consciousness. It follows that inculcation of Marxism should not be weakened but augmented, and the subjects involved in inculcation have increased, not diminished. We must persist in such inculcation among workers, peasants, intellectuals, and personalities of various social strata. In a certain sense, whether the socialist cause will develop in a correct direction and the progress of its development depend, to a large extent, on how deeply Marxism is inculcated in the masses' minds. True, Marxism has not stipulated a rigid pattern of socialism, nor can it do so; however, it has pointed out the indispensable and basic characteristics of socialism. It is impossible for Marxism to stipulate the specific measures and plans for building and developing socialism, but it did indicate the orientation and way for progress. Marxism did not provide a panacea, nor could it do so, but it has provided a world outlook and methodology to correctly observe and handle problems. Therefore, aside from Marxism, no other ideological theories are capable of guiding socialist construction and development, not even the one which is socialism in appearance but reformism in essence. Only Marxism is able to provide solutions to the line, principle, and policies of socialist construction, and guide the socialist cause to develop in a correct direction. Of course, socialism is an unprecedented cause; its construction and development need to be explored in practice, and reform is indispensable. However, such exploration and reform cannot be conducted spontaneously or by blindly deviating from Marxist guidance. The surfacing of different opinions and various plans is entirely normal in the course of reform and exploration. With the mastery of Marxism, it will not be difficult to judge which opinion or practice is more in conformity with the people's basic interest and the socialist direction, and we will be free from the effects of some specious arguments and deviation from the correct direction.

Augmenting inculcation of Marxism has a direct bearing on the consolidation of the people's political power and the socialist system. Although exploiting systems and classes have been eliminated in China, class struggle will continue in certain realms for a long time, and will intensify under certain conditions. International anti-communist and antisocialist hostile forces have never given up their strategy of peaceful evolution toward China, domestic struggles are closely connected with international struggles, and the confrontation between bourgeois liberalization and the four cardinal principles is interwoven with peaceful evolution and the fight against it. All this has shaped into a marked characteristic of the class struggle in the socialist new period. The focus of the struggle is one between subverting and defending the people's regime and socialist system. This precisely determines the extreme importance of inculcating Marxism. Just as Lenin put it: "Either it is the bourgeois ideological system or the socialist ideological system; here, the middle-of-the-roader does not exist."

To give up inculcation of the socialist ideological system means to yield ground to the capitalist ideological system, leading to shaking the people's regime and socialist system. In history, any ruling class would, after seizing power, inculcate the ideology of its own class in the minds of the whole society, making it the dominant one. Since proletariat seized power and opened up the new era of socialism, naturally it must occupy the ideological front in society with Marxism, making it the basic guiding thought of the socialist country and the guide to the thinking and actions of the whole nation. Those people who pursue bourgeois liberalization and oppose our inculcating Marxism aim only to disarm people's ideological weapons so that they may inculcate the bourgeois ideological system have impeded us in a big way. The political storm last year took place precisely at a time when we relaxed inculcation of Marxism, and it was the consequence of their inculcating the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization. They utilized all means they could, organized the so-called "new enlightenment salon," "seminars," and "free forums," delivered reports, wrote articles to occupy the public opinion front; was that not sheer inculcation? During last year's turmoil, the "Voice of America" broadcast to Mainland China more than 10 hours a day in three programs; the loudspeakers the "elite" fixed at Tiananmen Square kept shouting without a moment's rest, and they could not hold themselves back to run the so-called "democratic university." They were all conducting their kind of inculcation, and their very aim was to topple our socialist system, to turn China into a vassal of Western capitalism. Of course, they were daydreaming; but from a different angle, it taught us that only by adhering to inculcating Marxism will it be possible to unify people's thinking and firm people's faith so that they may maintain cool heads in complicated struggles, refrain from wavering and being doubtful, bewildered, and lost when socialism confronts temporary difficulties, while remaining firm in safeguarding the people's region and socialist system, confronting whatever storms.

Inculcating Marxism is indispensable to people's correct understanding of socialism's nature and to elevating their socialist consciousness. It has not been very long since socialism came into being; its productive force is still underdeveloped, and its advantages have not made themselves fully felt. In addition, there are limitations resulting from the old division of labor and differences in the capability of understanding; it will be impossible for people to consciously see the nature of socialism without Marxist guidance. In real life, people share production materials, but this does not mean every individual can directly possess and arbitrarily dispose of them. The people have become the state's masters, but they have to accept command and administration; government officials should be people's public servants, but some of them have become overlords, and have even abused power, oppressed the people, and so forth. Here, there are some differences between phenomena and nature; if matters are viewed from a personal angle or a narrow range, people would be bewildered by some



nonmainstream phenomena and even false appearances. The crux lies in whether or not Marxist theoretical qualities are acquired. Comrade Mao Zedong put it well: "Senses can resolve only phenomenal matters, while theory will resolve essential ones." Essential characteristics that are capable of fully embodying the socialist system's superiority over the capitalist system, such as the socialist public ownership, distribution according to work, and human relations based on equality and mutual help, are able to guarantee the basic conditions of the people's role as masters of the country in a down-to-earth way. Only by mastering the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method will it be possible to acquire a profound understanding and mastery. With profound understanding and mastery of the basic characteristics of socialism, people will deepen their sense of being the state's masters, establish ideological concepts compatible with their status as the state's masters; handle well the relations between the state, the collective, and the individual; the relation between interests of the whole situation and partial interests; and the relation between immediate and long-range interests, with an attitude and style pertaining to masters, while correctly exercising the rights of being the state's masters and giving full play to their role as masters in building socialist modernization.

In the socialist period, it is necessary not only to develop the productive force and to build a high level of material civilization in a big way, but also to pay great attention to the building of socialist spiritual civilization to cultivate socialist new men with "lofty ideals, moral integrity, good educational background, and a high sense of discipline." Socialism is to be built and developed by men. The eventual realization of the proletariat's mission has to go through a long process of hard work by several generations. The issue of educating people in ideology has a direct bearing on whether there are successors to the socialist cause, and whether the cause will pass from one generation to another. To cultivate socialist new men, it is necessary to conduct Marxist education, to guide people to gradually rid themselves of the effects of old ideology. It is imperative to soberly see that the effects of several thousand years of private ownership cannot be eliminated in a short period. Under existing productive force conditions, it is necessary to permit the existence and development of a certain amount of self-employed economy and private-sector economy. While they play a positive role in supplementing the socialist economy, they also carry some negative effects. Some Western spiritual drugs will also step in by seizing the opportunity of our reform and opening up. Under such circumstances, if we fail to firmly grasp Marxist ideological education, it will be difficult for people living under the socialist system to rid themselves of the entanglement of old ideas and concepts left over from history; individualist and selfish thinking and behavior linked to the concept of private ownership may spontaneously and stubbornly manifest themselves. In recent years, some people's value concepts have gravely slanted, with the thinking of "looking for money in everything" spreading

nationwide. We cannot deny that this was the consequence of the principle of inculcation being negated and shelved. Everyone needs some spiritual sustenance. A nation with lofty ideals and firm faith is hopeful and will have much to accomplish. And such lofty ideals and firm faith do not come into being spontaneously. To conduct in-depth and careful ideological and political work and inculcation of scientific socialist theory is an important channel to enlighten the consciousness of the laboring people and for them to establish communist ideals and faith. Only with lofty ideals and firm faith will there be a powerful spiritual pillar and impetus, and will a firm and correct political orientation be maintained, while pushing the historical wheels to advance along the socialist track.

At present, cadres, especially leading cadres at and above the county level are studying the theory of scientific socialism. This is determined by the problems confronting socialism and our historical mission. The birth and development of the socialist system in the 20th century testify to the truth that socialism replacing capitalism is the general trend of world history. However historical development is advancing in ups and downs, and relapses and even partial retrogressions are sometimes possible. With the changes in the world situation in recent years, socialism is confronting severe challenges, and many new problems are awaiting scientific answers; at the same time, the doubts and bewilderment of sorts arising in some people's minds call for guidance. Our cadres at all levels are the masses' leaders and the backbone force pushing the socialist cause forward. Cadres' ideological conditions and theoretical qualities affect the masses directly or indirectly, and have a bearing on socialism's future and fate. This being the case, it is very important to organize cadres at various levels, especially cadres at and above the county level, to study well theory on socialism, while propagating and educating workers, peasants, intellectuals, and young students through them. This is out of the pressing needs of defeating evil imperialist attempts at peaceful evolution, adhering to the four cardinal principles in depth, conducting struggle and education in opposing bourgeois liberalization, unifying the ideological understanding of the whole party and people nationwide, and promoting social stability and progress, as well as firmly implementing the party's basic line, bracing up the revolutionary spirit, and overcoming temporary difficulties to push forward the socialist cause. Our party committees at all levels, especially the propaganda departments under them, must fully understand the importance of the current study, augment leadership in a down-to-earth way, and organize the comrades participating in the current study to conduct in-depth research and discussion by grasping major theoretical issues. It is necessary to link the study of socialist theory to the study of Marxist philosophy, and to guide people to deepen their understanding of socialism to genuinely do a good job on ideological problems at deeper layers.

Conducting inculcation of Marxism is our party's political advantage. We have pursued inculcation for scores of years, with many successful experiences as well as mistakes and lessons. We must be good at summarizing experiences, and work hard to explore how to do a good job of inculcation under the new situation.

Both positive and negative experiences over the years have told us that, to inculcate Marxism, it is necessary to value the systematization and comprehensiveness of scientific theory with the focus on explaining the basic tenets as well as the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. When the PRC was first founded, education in basic Marxist theoretical concepts was unfolded with very good results. A history of social development educated a whole generation and enabled them to see the historical inevitability by which socialism will replace capitalism, thus stimulating their enthusiasm to plunge into socialist revolution and take the socialist road. Later, the systematic education was broken; the focus was on formalism and the inculcation of basic theory was neglected. Such condition continued to the eve of and during the Cultural Revolution, and the practice of pursuing fragments out of context and of "first study what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results" was in vogue; the consequent negative effects are universally known. We should never forget this lesson. At present, we should not be satisfied with "studying only what is related to one's specific field of work" in inculcating Marxism. That is far from being enough. It is necessary to conduct rather systematic education in Marxism in a planned way according to subjects at different levels. It is necessary to conduct education in the party's basic line and basic knowledge of the party, while conducting rather systematic education in the theory of scientific socialism and Marxist philosophy. In factories, rural areas, neighborhoods, schools, and scientific research units, it is necessary to make workers, peasants, intellectuals, and young students receive rather systematic ideological education in the party's basic line, patriotism, collectivism, socialism, self-reliance, plain living and hard work, and education in revolutionary tradition through lively, vivid, and effective ideological and political work.

Inculcation of Marxism aims to make people believe in and accept it. This requires us to pay attention to studying the method of inculcation and its art, making such work attractive, impressive, and convincing. "Empty preaching according to the book," rigid inculcation characterized by the "cramming method," or issuing "administrative orders" with a commanding attitude have never been very effective. If those methods are applied to the present conditions, that would be disgusting. From the view of historical experiences, the key to doing a good job of inculcation lies in linking theory to practice. The movement of education in Marxism during the Yanan Rectification Campaign unprecedentedly improved our party's theoretical level. A very important point was linking revolutionary practice and ideological realities in studying Marxism with a definite object in

view. This is a basic method of studying Marxism as advocated by proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation with Comrade Mao Zedong as the representative. This method is not outdated. We should apply it in a creative way under the new conditions. The forms may be varied, vivid, and lively. It is necessary to raise ideological, practical, and theoretical issues by linking them to the international and to China's practice in socialism to illustrate profound truths with vivid and rich realistic materials, to reveal the nature of matters and the law governing movement to help people find solutions to their problems.

To conduct propaganda and education in Marxism, it is necessary to require workers in propaganda and education to educate themselves first. They should take the lead in studying well, have a thorough understanding of Marxism, work hard to arm themselves with the Marxist world outlook and methodology, and turn themselves into firm Marxists. Those who are engaged in inculcation must be as good as their words and earnestly practice what they advocate. To make others believe in Marxism, one must first have firm belief in it. What one requires another to achieve, one must first work hard to achieve. While adhering to the principle of inculcation, it is necessary to pay attention to method and effects. This way, it is possible for us to elevate the whole party's Marxist level and the people's socialist consciousness to a new plane.

#### **Uphold the Principle of the Party Administering Cadres; Improve and Strengthen Administration Over Cadres**

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in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 90 pp 7-11, 6*

[Article by Zhao Zongnai (6392 1350 7845)]

[Text] Administering cadres is an important component of party building. Under the new situation, strongly improving and strengthening the work of administering cadres has extremely major significance for maintaining and strengthening leadership by the party and for guaranteeing the implementation of the party's basic line. Here I would like to put forward a few of my exploratory ideas on how to improve and strengthen the work of administering cadres at present.

#### **A. In Improving and Strengthening Administration Over Cadres, We Must Uphold and Implement the Principle of the Party Administering Cadres**

Our party has always greatly stressed cadre work. Back in 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "After fixing the political line, the cadres are the decisive factor." In the long period of struggle in revolution and construction, our party has formed a fine tradition in terms of the principles, systems, and methods of party administration of cadres. This includes, for example, the principle of unified formation of cadre policies by the party; the system of administration of important cadres by the

upper level party organizations; the work method of adhering to the standard of requiring both morality and ability when selecting cadres; having party organizations collectively decide the appointment and dismissal of cadres, and so on. Through these fine traditions and practices, we have fostered and selected hundreds of thousands of cadres who are loyal to the party's cause, rich in the spirit of sacrifice, and with both morality and ability, and we have thereby guaranteed the continual forward advance of the party's cause.

Several years ago, because of the effects of the flood of bourgeois liberalization and the weakening of leadership by the party, the principle of the party administering cadres was diluted and weakened. In that atmosphere, some comrades came to the erroneous conclusion that it was not necessary to follow the principle of the party administering cadres. Some placed the handing down of jurisdiction over cadre administration, the improvement of cadre administration methods, and the upholding of the principle of the party administering cadres in opposition and placed them distinctly apart. Whoever spoke of the party administering cadres was seen to be ossified in mind and unwilling to reform. We should clarify these mistaken ideas and the effects they have produced.

Adherence to the principle of the party administering cadres is an important aspect in upholding and strengthening leadership by the party. It is also an important guarantee in protecting and consolidating the ruling position of the CPC. The CPC is the leader of the people of all nationalities throughout the country and is the party that holds state political power. Marxism's party-building theory tells us that leadership by the party is an overall system, including political leadership, ideological leadership, and organizational leadership. The realization of political leadership and ideological leadership must have organizational leadership as a guarantee. Having the party administer cadres is an important component in achieving organizational leadership by the party. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out, as far as the party in power is concerned, in the party's administration of the party, the crux lies in the cadre question. Clearly, the understanding that "as long as the party formulates the line and policies, there is no need to administer the cadres" is wrong, and if this understanding is used to guide practice, the effects will be disastrous.

Upholding the principle of the party administering cadres is an important measure in ensuring that the party and the state leadership powers at various levels are in the hands of people who are loyal Marxists. The turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion that occurred in our country last year and the twists and turns which have been experienced in the international communist movement show that the struggle between peaceful evolution and counter-peaceful evolution and between bourgeois liberalization and the four cardinal principles will be longlasting. The crux of the struggle is the question of leadership. Only if we examine and select cadres in accordance with the party's standards will we be able to

ensure that party and state leadership is safely in the hands of people who are loyal Marxists, ensure that the party and the state do not change color, and ensure that the effects of peaceful evolution which the enemy is implementing against our country are resisted. Thus, since the beginning of last year the leading cadres of the party Central Committee and the central government have repeatedly stressed that we must uphold the principle of the party administering cadres. Comrade Jiang Zemin has pointed out that what is referred to as organizational leadership means that the party must still administer cadres. It will not do for the party not to administer cadres. He also said that the party administering cadres is an organizational guarantee for realizing leadership by the party. The "Circular on Strengthening Party Building" issued by the CPC Central Committee clearly stipulates: "We must uphold the principle of the party administering cadres and improve the methods by which the party administers cadres." The fact that the party Central Committee puts such stress on the principle of the party administering cadres means that this principle has extremely major importance and practical significance at present.

In accordance with the spirit of the "Circular on Strengthening Party Building," the principle of the party administering cadres should include four aspects: First, the party should strengthen leadership over cadre work and formulate principles and policies for cadre work. Second, it should recommend and administer major cadres well. Third, it should guide reform of the cadre personnel system. Fourth, it should do well in macro-management and the inspection and supervision of cadre personnel work. In cadre personnel administration, it is necessary to seriously and in an overall way do well in the work in accordance with the above-mentioned requirements. Overlooking any of these aspects will weaken the principle of the party administering cadres. Here, it needs to be clearly pointed out that upholding the principle of administering cadres is not equivalent to the party committee or the organization department of the party committee directly appointing and dismissing all cadres. The cadre administration structure and related systems and methods will continually change following development and changes in the situation, tasks, and cadre contingent. If, at the same time as upholding the principle of the party administering cadres, we cannot continually improve the structure of cadre administration and improve administrative methods, we will not be in accord with the demands of the development and changes in the situation. It is wrong to consider reform of the cadre administration structure to mean abandonment of the principle of the party administering cadres.

#### **B. The Improvement and Strengthening of the Work of Administering Cadres Requires Furthering Our Understanding of Several Questions**

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, great achievements have been realized in the work of administering cadres. In particular, in the

implementation of the policy to bring about four changes in the cadre ranks, in fostering and selecting cadres, in strengthening the building of leading groups and in promoting the reform of the cadre personnel system, very notable achievements have been realized. At the same time, it should also be recognized that there remain some problems in cadre administration which await resolution. In this respect, we need to link up with reality, sum up experiences, and adopt effective measures to resolve them.

1. In the work of administering cadres, it is necessary to scrupulously observe the party's line, principles, and policies on cadres.

Adherence to the principle of the party administering cadres requires implementation of management over cadres in accordance with the party's line, principles, and policies on cadres and the standards set down for cadres. Seen from the situation in recent years, many of the problems that have occurred in cadre administrative work in recent years have been produced by the fact that policies have not been properly implemented. In some cases, cadres have been promoted other than in accordance with the proper standards for selecting persons for promotion. In some cases, cadres have been employed other than in accordance with the correct procedures. This has often resulted in problems subsequent to the appointments. Facts have proven that the power to administer cadres can be appropriately handed, but that policy decisionmaking power cannot be handed down and cadre standards cannot be lowered. Cadres can be administered at different levels, but we cannot have different decisions being made by different levels or have everyone going their own way. For some specific problems in localities or departments, if the central authorities have not made specific stipulations, the localities or departments are allowed to make some specific stipulations. However, before they are implemented, these should be examined and approved by the upper level party committee and management department. Of course, on the question of what is a major policy and what is a specific policy, and what must be decided by the central authorities and what can be decided by the localities, we can further research and clarify this.

2. In upholding the system whereby the party committee recommends and administers major cadres, we need to properly arrange the several following relationships.

a) We need to properly handle the relationship between the party recommending cadres and the NPC [National People's Congress] selecting and deciding the appointment of cadres. The party Central Committee and local party committees recommend cadres to state organs. This is an important guarantee by which the party realizes its leadership over state matters and safeguards and consolidates the ruling position of the party, and is also a major manifestation of the principle that the party administers cadres. Thus, the recommending of cadres to state organs is a major task of party committees at all levels. However, recommending cadres is different from

directly appointing cadres. According to the stipulations of the Constitution and the organic law, the NPC Standing Committee personnel, people's government personnel, the heads of the people's courts, and the heads of the People's Procuratorate are elected by the NPC or decided upon and appointed by the NPC and its Standing Committee. Thus, the work by which party committees recommend cadres must be carried out within the scope of the law. We must uphold the system by which the party committee recommends major cadres, and must ensure that such matters are handled strictly in accordance with the law. This requires that party committees at all levels must truly strengthen and improve leadership over the work by which the NPC selects and decides on cadres, and fully bring into play and fully respect and support the NPC is selecting or deciding upon leading cadres for state organs in accordance with the law.

Seen from the experiences of various places, doing well in this work requires that we fully bring into play the roles of the NPC party organization and the roles of CPC members among the NPC deputies and NPC Standing Committee members. The party committee must seriously disseminate and implement the principles and policies of the central authorities with respect to cadre work. In particular, they need to make clear the standards and conditions for leading cadres and clearly set down the party committee considerations on personnel arrangements, so that the intentions of the party committee become the conscious actions of the deputies and committee members. The Communist Party members among the NPC deputies and NPC Standing Committee members should recognize that they are both representatives of the people and Communist Party members, and they should combine the carrying out of the responsibilities of representatives with the carrying out of their obligations as party members. When deciding on the selection of personnel, they should voluntarily safeguard the party committee's decision and use the methods of persuasion, propaganda, and explanation to influence other deputies. Of course, when the NPC deputies and NPC Standing Committee members are considering the persons recommended by the party committee, they are completely free to put forward their own ideas. The party committee and relevant departments should provide serious and responsible explanations to the questions put forward and, on this basis, achieve a consensus.

b) We need to properly handle the relationship between the party committee's administration of cadres and the government's administration of cadres. Since the 13th party congress, in accordance with the principle that the separation of party and government functions and the administering of personnel and administration of other matters need to be closely combined and rationally restrained, some local governments and personnel departments have administered some of the leading cadres, while some professional management departments have also had a certain amount of power to



arrange the employment of people. This has played a certain role in having the government and the relevant departments combine professional work and use cadres in a better way. However, this has also raised some problems that need further research. Under the precondition of upholding the principle of the party administering cadres, we must clarify responsibilities, put relationships into order, clear out channels, perfect systems, and fully rectify the problems whereby cadre administration is handled by many different entities and many entities manage the one group. The party committees and organization departments at all levels must take on the responsibility of guidance, inspection, synthesization, and coordination. The party committees and organization departments must not consider that the divided administration of cadres is nothing to be concerned about. Quite the contrary. In accordance with the line, principles, and policies and in accordance with investigative research into the actual situation, they must in a timely way put forward ideas on improving the system of administering cadres. At the same time, in accordance with relevant stipulations, they must inspect the work of appointing and dismissing cadres and put forward ideas for rectifying problems that emerge. Also, as for the various problems resulting from policies, they should engage in coordination and avoid the lack of unity on the policy level.

c) We must properly handle the relationship between tiao tiao [2742 2742] and kuai kuai [1040 1040], that is, the relationship between the management of cadres by central professional work departments and the management of cadres by local party committees. In accordance with the political and economic structure of our country and the demands of economic construction, we still retain three types of cadre administration which were formed in the 1950's: The first is cadre management where the central departments play the main role and the local party committees have a coordinating and assisting role. The second is cadre management where the local party committees play the main role and the central departments play a coordinating and assisting role. The third is cadre management carried out by local party committees. Practice has proved that these three forms accord with the national conditions of our country and should be continued and upheld. However, seen from the situation reflected in actual work, the first two forms still have some relational problems in practice, and this has affected the work of cadre administration. The management range of some tiao tiao is too broad, and it is unable to manage to the full extent of its authority. Thus, if kuai kuai's assisting role is not played well here, it will be easy for loopholes to occur. The reasons for lack of coordination between tiao tiao and kuai kuai are not only problems in ideological understanding, they are also problems in actual operation, and some problems are caused by the lack of a standardized system in some administrative links. Resolving these problems requires that we unify understanding, divide work rationally, and

clarify responsibilities and jurisdictions, with the precondition of upholding the principle of party administration of cadres. When the various cadre administration departments carry out their functions, they must not engage in "departmental ownership" or "party committee ownership." Rather, they must establish a concept of the overall situation, link up in a timely way, respect each other, supervise each other, and raise efficiency. Another thing that must be stressed is that the side which is mainly responsible for administration cannot just manage the selection, appointment, and dismissal of cadres. Rather, it must take on the whole range of administrative work, including assessment, reward and punishment, training, and retirement. The side that assists in administration not only has to put forward ideas for appointments and dismissals but also, in view of the locality in which they are situated and the professional work of that department, must also put forward ideas on the work of administering cadres and achieve a relationship of mutual support and close coordination.

d) We have to properly arrange the relationship between the administering of cadres by the administrative leaders of the enterprises and the administering of cadres by enterprise party organs. The Central Committee has already made clear the enterprise party organ's position as the political core of the enterprise and set down the role it should play in administering cadres. It should be recognized that the decision of the party Central Committee manifests the principle of the party administering cadres. However, some comrades hold that "the power of the factory director to employ people has been negated." This understanding is clearly biased. In this regard, we should unify understanding from two respects. In one respect, the factory director is the corporate representative of the enterprise and, in production operations, he is in the central position. Thus, he should have suitable powers, congruent with his duties, to employ people. This is an objective demand, under planned commodity economy conditions, for enlivening operations and enlivening enterprises. Enterprise party organs should, in accordance with the law, ensure that the factory director correctly exercises his right to employ people. However, we should recognize that enterprises are not purely economic organizations. They also play extremely important roles in political and social life. Enterprises are the class basis of the party, the place where the working class is most centralized. The quality of their managers not only directly affects economic results, but also affects the stability of the working class, the party's cause, and the overall interests of the state. Thus, when the factory director exercises his right to employ people, not only must he take an economic view, but must also take a political view. Only if cadres are appointed and dismissed in accordance with the cadre standards stipulated by the party and in accordance with certain procedures, and only if there is voluntary acceptance of inspection and supervision by enterprise party organs and the power to employ people is exercised correctly, will they be in accord with the

principle of the party administering cadres. In another respect, enterprise party organs must play an effective supervisory and guaranteeing role in the administration of enterprise cadres. The enterprise party organ is the political core of the enterprise and bears heavy responsibilities in the political, ideological, and organizational aspects of the enterprise. The building of the enterprise cadre contingent and leading group is important work in the building of the enterprise party organ. Thus, in anything that touches on cadre principles and policies or the selection and employment of the cadres for important posts in the enterprise, the enterprise party organ must strengthen supervision and actively participate in it. The appointment and dismissal of midlevel administrative cadres in the enterprise, regardless of whether they have been nominated by the factory director or recommended by the party committee, should, in accordance with the central stipulations and following collective discussions by party and administrative cadres, be made by the factory director.

### 3. We must strengthen inspection and supervision over cadre work.

Strengthening inspection and supervision over cadre work is an important measure in guaranteeing the party's principles and policies on cadres and the correct implementation of various decisions. The ingredients of inspection and supervision are very diverse, but mainly include inspection of the implementation of the party's line, principles, and various policies on cadres, inspecting to see whether selection, appointment, and dismissal of cadres are appropriate and, when problems are discovered, to correct them in a timely way. In order to do well in inspection and supervision work, the party committee in its leadership of party work, not only must continue to stress discussion and study of the appointment and dismissal of personnel, but must study and implement, with even more vigor, the principles and policies of party cadre work, and grasp well inspection and supervision work. The party committee organs and departments at all levels are functional departments of the party committee in the work of administering cadres. Apart from seriously carrying out the work of examining, selecting, appointing, dismissing and training cadres under the leadership of the party committee, they must positively coordinate and assist the party committee in doing well in inspection and supervision work, and do well in bringing into play their role in "synthesis, coordination, supervision and guidance."

### C. In Improving and Strengthening the Work of Administering Cadres, We Must Further Improve and Perfect the System of Administering Cadres

Our cadre system was established and developed over a long period of practice and, in future, in accordance with the demands of the situation as it develops, we must continually improve and reform the cadre system. Comrade Jiang Zemin has pointed out that we must uphold the principle of the party administering cadres and, at the same time, we must pay attention to improving the

methods of administering cadres, and continually promote reform of the cadre system. Upholding the principle of the party administering cadres not only is not contradictory with the reform of the cadre system, but forms a mutually linked, mutually supplementing entirety with it. Only by upholding the principle of the party administering cadres will we be able to guarantee the orientation of the reform of the cadre system. Only by continually reforming the cadre system will we be better able to uphold the principle of the party administering cadres and be better able to do well in cadre work under the new situation. Thus, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, we must positively and safely promote reform of the cadre system, so that the work of administering cadres gradually becomes more systematic and scientific.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and especially since the beginning of the structural reform in 1982, the reform of our country's cadre personnel system has made great achievements. These can be summed up in 10 aspects: 1) The establishment and implementation of the policy requiring four changes in the cadre ranks, which has resulted in obvious changes occurring in the leading groups at all levels, and the process of the new replacing the old have been regularized. 2) Great breakthroughs have been achieved in terms of abolishing the system of persons in leading posts having life tenure; a beginning has been made in breaking down the system where, in leading posts, one can only be promoted, not demoted; and the scope of the tenure system has been expanded in many localities and departments. 3) The system of "handing administration down one level" has been implemented in principle and, in particular, the power of enterprises to employ people has been obviously expanded. 4) Many reform experiments have been carried out in the forms of cadre employment, and a beginning has been made in breaking down the single model of appointing persons to posts. For township and small town cadres, the system of appointment on contract has been implemented; for scientific and technological cadres, a specialized technological duties appointment system has been implemented; and some institutional and enterprise units have implemented the system of democratic election of leading cadres. 5) Post responsibility systems have been implemented over a quite wide range and many areas have, on this basis, developed responsibility systems with specific tasks to be achieved during the period of tenure. 6) The degree of democratization in cadre personnel work has been raised. In the selection of cadres, democratic recommendation and opinion surveys have been implemented, so that the masses have a greater say and a greater choice in the selection of cadres. Also, systems of democratic assessment and democratic appraisal of leading cadres have been widely implemented and, through democratic appraisal, leading cadres who are not fulfilling the duties of their posts have been reassigned. When appraising cadres, the mass line is widely followed and ideas from all sides are listened to. 7) In the employment of cadres, the system of orienting



toward society, open examinations, and selecting the superior have been implemented on a trial basis. 8) A system of cadre exchange has been implemented. This has been particularly evident among county-level cadres, who have been involved in exchanges over quite a wide range. Some areas have also trial-implemented cadre post systems where cadres cannot be appointed to posts in their original domiciles. 9) Major progress and achievement have been realized in systematizing cadre training. 10) A system of reserve cadres has been implemented. Initial steps have been taken in establishing a reserve cadre contingent that is of considerable size, quite complete in terms of specialties, and of quite good quality.

Although very great achievements have been realized in the reform of the cadre personnel system, it should be recognized that these reforms are only the first steps. This is manifested mainly in three aspects: 1) Most of the reforms are isolated reforms and they are not well coordinated with each other. 2) Many of the reforms are experimental. There are not many reforms that have been really finalized, standardized, and systematized. 3) These reforms have not completely resolved the problems that exist in cadre personnel management. The task at present is, in accordance with the demands of the new situation and tasks, to further perfect and reform the cadre personnel system and gradually achieve a cadre personnel administration system that is democratic, scientific, and guaranteed through legislation. At present, and in future, we should grasp reforms mainly in the following aspects:

1. We must, in a planned and gradual way, establish a system of classified administration of cadres, so as to change the situation where a single model is used to administer party and government cadres. We have many industries and the professional differences between them are very great. If we manage them all in accordance with one model, there will be many problems. We need to gradually institute classified administration and administer the different groups in accordance with their characteristics and patterns. We must gradually implement a state public servant system. That is, we must formulate a series of laws and regulations and manage state administrative organ personnel in accordance with the law. As to the administering of the workers and personnel of organs of power, procuratorial organs, judicial organs, party organs, the various mass organizations, and enterprise and institutional units, we should, in accordance with the nature of their work and characteristics of their profession, separately stipulate specific administrative systems. It must be explained that the main aim in implementing classified administration is achieving a situation where administration can be carried out in accordance with systems and methods set down by the party in a unified way, for the various types of personnel. It is not intended so that all can go their own way in cadre administration. The administering of the various types of major cadres should still be directly carried out by upper-level party organs in accordance with the

principle of graded management. It is wrong to interpret classified administration to mean that "each manages his own." The implementation of classified administration of cadres is a major reform of the cadre personnel system. It will involve a process of exploration and it should be carried out in accordance with unified deployment by the party Central Committee.

2. We must improve and perfect the cadre training system and continually improve the political and professional quality and leadership level of cadres. The level of our cadres is still very far from the level required by modernization. All levels of party organization should, with a high degree of responsibility and high degree of urgency, put efforts into raising the level of cadres in terms of their knowledge of Marxist theory and in terms of their leadership qualities. The party Central Committee has put great stress on the work of training and educating cadres and has taken this as an important measure in fostering a new generation of cadres who are loyal to Marxism. The party Central Committee has already passed down a decision on establishing a study system for provincial- and departmental-level cadres, and this is now being implemented. Plans should be made and implemented for the training of leading cadres at other levels, so that this work can be conducted through a complete and scientific system and be carried on for a long time.

3. We must further increase the degree of democratization in the enhancement of cadre work. The systems of democratic appraisal through public discussion, democratic recommendation, and public opinion poll in cadre management are healthy as a whole. They are all effective ways to implement the mass line in cadre management. They must be continuously improved in practice, so that they will gradually become perfect.

4. We must further perfect the cadre selection system. The current procedure for selecting leading cadres is effective. Few problems arise when everything is done in accordance with stipulated procedures. Problems generally arise when procedures are violated. Thus, we must seriously implement the relevant stipulations of the central authorities and, in practice, gradually perfect the system. At present, we must seriously implement the assessment system, strictly observe the procedures for selection and employment, and select truly good cadres suitable for the posts.

5. We must implement a cadre exchange system and a system whereby cadres are not employed in their original domiciles. The exchange of leading cadres has very great advantages for the tempering and maturing of cadres, for increasing their flexibility when faced with new things and for getting them, when situated in a quite unfamiliar environment, to go all-out in developing work. It also spurs on the ideological and organizational construction of the leading group. Not long ago, there was an exchange of governors between the the Provinces of Hebei, Henan, and Liaoning, and this brought positive reactions. The

central authorities have already promulgated the "Decision on Implementing a System of Exchange Between Leading Cadres of Party and State Organs." All areas and all departments should, in accordance with the demands of the central authorities and in light of their own realities, seriously implement this decision.

6. We must continue to perfect and promote both the system where cadres can both be promoted and demoted and the retirement system. Over the last few years, we have begun to reverse the situation where cadres can only be promoted and not demoted, and various areas have reassigned some leading cadres who were not fit for their posts. However, generally, there has been no change in the situation where cadres can only be promoted but not demoted. The major reasons for this are that understanding is not sufficiently unified, some measures have not been properly implemented, and there has been excessive accommodation of cadres who are unfit for their posts. We must proceed from the requirement to strengthen leading groups and positively promote this work so that this system is effectively upheld. We must uphold the system of cadre retirement and, except in cases where cadres must be retained due to the demands of work, all cadres who reach retirement age should be retired on time. There are some veteran comrades who have special skills and, if they are still healthy after they retire, the organs should place stress on continuing to bring the roles of such people into play.

7. We must establish and perfect the system of macro-management of cadres. Doing well in the macromanagement of cadres requires that party committees at all levels and especially the party committees at the provincial level and above, strengthen leadership and carry out effective coordination and control. It also requires that various administrative systems be continually perfected or newly established, so that the size of organs, the relationships between departments and regional committees, the number and level of posts, the growth of the cadre contingent, wages and benefits, and other administrative matters are gradually standardized.

The reform of the cadre personnel system is a part of the reform of the political structure and serves economic construction and party building. We must positively and safely promote the reform of the cadre personnel system in accordance with the demands of economic construction, economic structural reform, and party building. Through reform, we must gradually strengthen and improve the party's leadership, better realize the "four changes" in the cadre ranks and leadership groups, and more widely discover talented persons and rationally employ talented persons.

### **The Road for the Growth of Young Intellectuals—Reflections on a Survey of the Growth of Young Students in Daqing**

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[Article by Kang Shien (1660 0013 1869)]

[Text] I have recently been to the Daqing Oilfield to do a survey of the 10,000-plus university and secondary technical school students who have been assigned to work there in recent years. Tempered in the big furnace of Daqing, these young people have grown to be builders of socialism. Some of them have taken up leadership posts on grassroots party committees and in administrative, technical, and other fields, while others have made gratifying achievements in scientific and technological research. Among the 3,500-plus university and secondary technical school students assigned to Daqing after the quelling of the rebellion last year, many have gone to the oilfields feeling both depressed and perplexed. Helped by the party organization and the veteran workers, their thoughts and feelings have undergone marked changes. In their own words, they have "returned from the ivory tower of the favored sons of heaven to the real world." Over the past year and more, some 1,500 of them have applied for party membership. More than 140 of them have been appraised as advanced personages at the bureau or factory level, and more than 20 have been awarded for their technical innovation. They are growing into a new generation of Daqing people in the thick of struggle. Practice has once again proven that young intellectuals in China have great hopes and futures, and that they can become dependable successors to the socialist cause, provided they are given correct education and guidance.

I have been much inspired by the changes and growth seen in the persons of university and secondary technical school students in Daqing. It is hoped that the following analysis will arouse people's deep thought and attention.

*It is a very important task of institutes of higher education to help young students foster a scientific world outlook, outlook on life, and sense of value.*

During the survey, I have discovered a very thought-provoking phenomenon. It has come to my notice that the majority of university and secondary technical school students assigned to work in Daqing are the children of Daqing workers. Having grown up in Daqing and been long exposed to the influence of their parents and the oilfield, they had a sound ideological foundation and had done well academically. They cherished the party and socialism and had gone on to college with great ardor. After several years of college life, however, some of them fell back ideologically, although they increased their professional knowledge, and their outlook on life

and sense of value underwent substantial changes. Some of them became weary of hardship and fatigue. Others came to look down on oilfield work and on the labor undertaken by their parents. Still others became skeptical of the party and socialism due to the influence of bourgeois liberalization. They returned to Daqing feeling perplexed, but after being tempered in practice and going through ideological education, their spirit has once again been roused. This process of change is quite typical among the university and secondary technical school students. It reflects that there was indeed the tendency to stress intellectual education at the expense of moral education in institutes of higher education some years back, and that ideological and political work has been seriously slighted. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, the biggest mistake of the past 10 years lies in the question of education. This cannot but arouse our deep thought.

During our discussion, the university students brought up a point worthy of great attention. Influenced by modern philosophical trends in the West, Sartre's "existentialism," Nietzsche's "superman philosophy," and the like became the vogue and were "issues" hotly pursued by university students. This, they believed, was an important reason that they accepted Western ideas of democracy and freedom. Based on an analysis of their thinking, they concluded that modern philosophical trends of thought in the West had produced the following major negative effects on them: First, individualism with individual existence as the mainstay has caused them to have an unduly high opinion of themselves and to pose as "superman," "great man," and "genius" in real life. Second, pragmatism with its utilitarian goals has caused them to regard the seeking of material benefits and comfort as their objective. Third, sentimentalism, which is guided by one's own psychological experience, has put them in a spiritual world that is dominated by solitude, worry, pain, and oppression, and this has caused them to give little thought to organizational discipline and to become overweening. Fourth, a lack of morality on the ethical level has caused them to be lacking responsibility and dedication. Fifth, they show pessimism in their outlook on life and hedonism in their way of life. These university students felt deeply that this bourgeois sense of value with individualism as its core was incompatible with the socialist sense of value. They said that, when a person who upheld this sense of value discovered that they could not excel in real life and that the road they had devised for themselves could lead them nowhere, they would feel lost and empty, thinking that they had lost their "self-value" in life and had become "dominated," and they would react by blindly opposing society and reality, trying to fight for so-called "democracy and freedom," even coming to doubt and waver in their belief in the party and in socialism.

The questions raised by university students in their reflections show that they have achieved progress on the ideological level. They have also given us an important inspiration. College years are the crucial period in the

shaping of a young person's world outlook and outlook on life. In what direction they are guided is an important issue which has a vital bearing on one's lifelong development. Of course, our socialist universities should not teach behind closed doors. It is essential that students be given access to ideological trends and theories of different parts of the world so that they can increase their knowledge and broaden their horizons. The important thing is to guide young people so that they can use the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method in analyzing what is right and what is wrong, what should be pursued and what should be opposed and rejected. If we do not give them guidance and let them take their own course instead, or if we allow certain individuals to preach and publicize Western trends of thought on the teaching platform, we are, in fact, poisoning the minds of the young people and misleading the students. This will lead to serious consequences. The turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion that took place in late spring and early summer last year is a striking case in point. Thus, we must make an effort to strengthen ideological and political work in colleges and universities; intensify education on political theories, patriotism, Chinese history, and China's conditions; persist in paying equal attention to moral, intellectual, and physical education; and emphasize moral education. In their college years, students should be organized to take part in manual labor and practical work in production and graduation fieldwork. This will prepare them for their entry into society. The important educational measures taken by the central authorities after the quelling of last year's rebellion are practical measures welcomed by the masses.

*Integrating with practice and with the workers and peasants is the only road for the growth of young intellectuals.*

In the 40 years since the founding of the People's Republic, Chinese intellectuals have, under the leadership of the CPC, actively plunged into the cause of socialist construction, tempered themselves in practice, and become an important force in building socialism. Intellectuals constitute a part of the working class. They cherish the party and the socialist motherland, and have made indelible achievements in modernization, reform, and opening the country to the outside world. As proved by countless facts, whether young intellectuals can grow to be dependable successors to the socialist cause and consciously shoulder the historical responsibility of the working class depends chiefly on whether they are willing to plunge into the great practice of socialist construction and to unite with the masses of workers and peasants.

After being assigned to the Daqing Oilfield, most university students initially thought it a waste of their time and energy to be sent to the grassroots level to be tempered as workers. They were also skeptical about learning from the working class, thinking that workers did not have a lofty image, spoke in mundane language, and did nothing but ordinary labor all day long. After several months, even several years, of practice at the grassroots level, however, their thinking underwent a fundamental change. When they were afraid of hardship and fatigue and flinched from jumping into the water to

retrieve the spilled crude oil, it was the party members, cadres, and veteran workers who took the lead in jumping down. When they carelessly left the seismic detectors lying around, it was the worker masters who picked them up one by one and carefully put them in the right places. They felt it unbearable after a few days work in the open, but the veteran workers, grassroots cadres, and party members had been working in this tough environment and quietly dedicating themselves to the state for decades. When they did not know how things worked, the veteran workers took them by the hand. When they were sick, the instructors gave them the best of care and even brought their meals to their bedside. All this greatly shook the hearts of the university students. In the persons of these workers, they have come to see the noble moral quality of treasuring oil while working in an ocean of oil. They see the workers' scientific approach of being serious, conscientious, and meticulous. They see the spirit of dedication in the way workers work hard and engross themselves in work, and they see the sense of responsibility as masters in the way workers cherish their wells, mines, factories, and oilfields. All this, they realized, is the Daqing spirit and Iron Man spirit, and is the enthusiasm and great sense of responsibility shown by the Daqing workers in building socialism. In the past they thought that they alone were the "elite" of society, the "backbone" of the country. Now they have come to realize that the ordinary yet great working class is the true backbone of society. There are so many things they can learn from workers. Zhou Xihua [0719 0823 5478], a university student who took part in the building of the Daqing power plant, said, "It is only after one year of participation in construction that I have come to truly understand the meaning of the saying: Book study is learning, but practice is also learning, and a more important kind of study at that." Only when a young intellectual's youth, wisdom, and ability are applied to the motherland and the people's cause will they realize their worth, and only in this way will he or she derive a sense of happiness and pride in the true sense. It is precisely through this kind of spiritual change and sublimation that many university students are now enriching their knowledge, displaying their abilities, and making outstanding achievements at their respective posts. They said with deep feeling, "The working class is the instructor who helps bring about this change in us; practice in construction is the arena for bringing about this change; and the determination to achieve something is the motive force that makes possible this change."

*Provide good guidance to young students by setting strict demands ideologically, being exemplary in action, and giving them a free hand in work.*

The Daqing Oilfield leadership believes that they should first give full affirmation to the primary aspects of fresh college and university graduates. Young students have quick minds and broadly based knowledge, can readily accept new things, have ideals and aspirations, and eagerly want to accomplish something. However, because they are long divorced from practice and labor,

they tend to have grandiose aims but puny abilities. They are afraid of hardship, unsteady in their thoughts and feelings, unrealistic and impractical. In recent years, in particular, some young students have adopted erroneous points of view under the influence of bourgeois liberalization. The oilfield party committee thus believes that we must grasp the primary aspects of students and show them warm concern, give them help, and make friends with them. Bearing in mind the fact that many young students are ignorant of history, the country's situation, and the actual conditions of socialism and capitalism, the oilfield party committee organized them to study contemporary history, modern history, and the history of revolution, and helped them draw comparisons between the new society and the old, between the conditions of different countries, and between the development history and achievements of capitalism and socialism in China. Students were also organized to take part in "education on three good things," namely, that "the Communist Party is good, socialism is good, and the Daqing Oilfield is good," and to hear veteran workers and cadres recount the history of how Daqing made its start amid difficulties, as well as the heroic deeds of the Iron Man. In their efforts to carry forward the Daqing spirit, the staff and workers of Daqing Oilfield told young students hundreds of thousands of stories on the advanced personages and advanced ideas around them. Through these stories, young students were given vivid education on upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. They thus deepened their understanding of socialism on the basis of combining theory with reality. Yin Chengguang [1438 2052 0342], a trainee at Brigade No. 1 under Oil Extraction Factory No. 4 who graduated in 1989, used to enjoy reading books like *River Elegy*. He felt very depressed after the quelling of the rebellion and said that he would no longer have faith in any doctrine. In Daqing, his thoughts underwent great changes after the "education on three good things" and vivid discussions with cadres. He said, "The patriotism and spirit of plain living and hard struggle shown by the Daqing people are totally different from the ugly image of the Chinese people depicted in *River Elegy*. The party style prevailing in Daqing is totally different from the rumor spread by some people that 'the party has degenerated.' The spiritual development seen in Daqing is totally different from my own one-sided view of the status quo. In the working class of Daqing I see the hope of China and of socialism." Bao Nan [7637 2809], a trainee at Daqing's Construction Brigade No. 4 who graduated in 1989, used to think that the Communist Party was good but was unable to explain some of the phenomena of corruption. She used to think highly of socialism but was unable to pinpoint its superiority. She also thought Daqing was a good place but could not get used to the tough life there. In the course of the "education on three good things," the company party secretary had heart-to-heart talks with her on six different occasions and invited her to take part in discussions on the battle for oil so that she could see the one-sidedness of her own thinking. She spoke of her own ideological changes in a



speech entitled "Daqing Is My Second Classroom." She is now deputy head of her brigade's philosophy study group.

These examples on the growth of university students tell us that workers, cadres, and party members are students' guide to society. It is precisely through these persons that university students see the Communist Party. Thus, the education given by Daqing to young students is not through orders, coercion, or meaningless lecturing, but through the exemplary deeds of the tens of thousands of cadres, workers, and party members. Young students are moved and inspired by the image of cadres who are hardworking, fair-minded, clean, and devoted. Completely convinced, they will then consciously and willingly choose the correct road.

In order to help young university students grow up quickly, Daqing Oilfield gave them a free hand in work and made them bear responsibility. During their period of training, they were required to write a report on their fieldwork and a technical paper and to launch a technical innovation project. Some were even required to do research work. Su Shulin [5685 2885 2651] graduated from the Daqing Petroleum Academy in 1983. Over the past years, he has been working in a down-to-earth manner alongside the workers. He put forward many suggestions and made outstanding achievements in the prospecting and development of new sites. The mine leadership fully supported his work and appointed him deputy director of a research institute. He led the young intellectuals of his institute in compiling and writing 160 papers and treatises. Fourteen of their research projects were awarded by the bureau for their outstanding scientific and technological achievement, and he himself was appraised as a labor model and top-10 young person. Han Dongying [7281 0392 5391], another university student, volunteered when he graduated in 1986 to work and undergo tempering in a work team where conditions were the toughest. In the following year, the party organization appointed him leader and party branch secretary of a backward work team. In the third year, this work team joined the ranks of advanced teams and he himself became a labor model of the entire bureau. There are many other similar examples. Practice has proven that the principle upheld by Daqing since the great battle for oil that university students must first undergo tempering at the grassroots level is both correct and necessary. Warm concern, strict demands, complete trust, and a free hand are the correct ways to speed up the growth of young intellectuals.

*Fully understand the significance of strengthening education over young intellectuals from the high plane of opposing peaceful evolution.*

The counterrevolutionary rebellion which broke out last year reminded us once again that the struggle between infiltration and anti-infiltration, between subversion and antisubversion, and between peaceful evolution and anti-peaceful evolution is a protracted and acute struggle. We must never lower our vigilance. The

peaceful evolution engineered by hostile forces at home and abroad is directed against our young people. From the strategy of Dulles in the 1950's to the present-day plot of the imperialists, the tactics may have changed, but the objective remains unchanged. Through political, ideological, economic, livelihood, and other means, they try to win the younger generation away from us in their vain attempt to turn our young people into successors to the bourgeoisie. This struggle has a vital bearing on the destiny and future of our party and socialist state, and constitutes an important aspect of class struggle in the new period. Today, whether or not they can maintain a clearcut stand and give tit-for-tat to peaceful evolution is a severe test of whether a party member or leading cadre is firm in his or her communist belief.

People who engaged in bourgeois liberalization spread an extreme reactionary point of view some time ago. They talked rubbish, saying that the working class could no longer serve as the leading class in the modernization process, and that the intellectuals alone could shoulder the leadership responsibility. They advocated forming a political party of the middle class that could represent the interests of intellectuals, and tried to wrest leadership for intellectuals. They denied the fact that intellectuals constitute a part of the working class, and described the intelligentsia as an independent stratum above the working class. They harbored vicious intentions in trying to separate the intelligentsia from the working class and setting intellectuals against workers. They lauded intellectuals to the skies, crowning them with laureates like "the favored sons of heaven" and "the elite of society." Actually, what they had in mind was to lead young students astray and make the latter create public opinion for the handful of ambitious ones like themselves to seize power. Mao Zedong pointed out long ago that intellectuals do not constitute an independent class. Intellectuals attach themselves to the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. There is no middle course. In socialist China, the vast numbers of intellectuals support the party's basic line, the four cardinal principles, and the policy of reform and opening the country to the outside world. They strive to integrate with the workers and peasants and serve the masses. They have a broad and bright future. We must understand the far-reaching significance of this struggle to win over intellectuals from the high plane of peaceful evolution and consciously use proletarian ideas to occupy all fronts.

The guidance and education of young intellectuals must be grasped as a project of systems engineering which runs through families, schools, society, and enterprises. As in a relay race, different links must be closely connected and coordinated. Each has its responsibility to the state, to the people, and to young people. In this way, schools, families, enterprises, and society at large will become a big socialist furnace. We should see that the revolutionary cause and socialist road pioneered by revolutionaries of the older generation will not be inherited by the younger generation as a matter of course; every generation is confronted with the question of how to choose the

correct road. Thus, this project of systems engineering must be grasped relentlessly generation after generation. We must guide young people of future generations to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, accept the leadership of the Communist Party and uphold the socialist road so that the cause of socialism and communism will continue to develop throughout the ages.

**A Good Article Useful to Socialist Ideological Education—Reading the Article ‘Seek Truth From Facts, Refrain From Empty Talk’**

HK0112022090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 90 pp 16-17

[Article by Qi Hua (2790 2901)]

[Text] At present, ideological education aimed at studying socialist theories in depth and establishing firm faith in socialism is being launched among the vast numbers of cadres and the masses, particularly leading cadres at various levels. The recently published important article by Comrade Peng Zhen, entitled “Seek Truth From Facts, Refrain From Empty Talk” (QIUSHI No. 18, 1990) [published in FBIS-CHI-90-182, 19 September 1990, pp. 13-17], is filled with ideas of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and gives full embodiment to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Its publication will play a very useful role in promoting the study and education of socialist theories.

In this article, Comrade Peng Zhen emphasized grasping the fundamental ideological line, that is, seeking truth from facts, on the one hand, and grasping our fundamental line of work, that is, the mass line, on the other.

Comrade Peng Zhen incisively explained the concept of seeking truth from facts by drawing parallels with the correct logical thinking in actual work which leads to seeking truth from facts, thus helping us gain a profound understanding of “seeking truth from facts.” The article made special reference to the following truth pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1937 (the year when *On Practice* and *On Contradictions* were written): If comrades can see problems by seeking truth from facts, many inner party disputes can be avoided. Is it not true that many of the mistakes on lines made in our party’s history were due to subjectivism? Comrade Peng Zhen incisively pointed out, “As I see it, this remark by Comrade Mao Zedong is effective and true even now.”

Comrade Peng Zhen held that our aim in carrying forward the Yanan spirit of seeking truth from facts is to resolve existing problems, that is, to seek the present “truth” on the basis of existing “facts.” Applying the fundamental viewpoint and method of seeking truth from facts to analyze the contemporary political situation at home and in the international arena, he arrived at the following three conclusions: First, what the 20th

century will prove in history is not that socialism will suffer great defeat, but that imperialism will ultimately collapse. Second, that the struggle between “peaceful evolution” and anti-“peaceful evolution” is a major issue that concerns the life and death of our nation, and that “peaceful evolution” is, in fact, very cruel and not a bit peaceful. Third, that bourgeois liberalization and “peaceful evolution” are interrelated and complementary, and that our struggle against the reactionary political force and ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is a struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems and is a concentrated expression of class struggle at the present stage. These three important conclusions are of great significance as they will provide guidance to our opposition to “peaceful evolution” and upholding the socialist road. In this connection, Comrade Peng Zhen has set an example for us and given us a profound inspiration as to how to apply the fundamental viewpoint and method of seeking truth from facts to observe the complicated political situation.

On the question of how we should guard against and oppose “peaceful evolution” and uphold the socialist road at present, Comrade Peng Zhen emphatically pointed out that the key lies in the effective implementation of the mass line. The party’s strength lies with the masses, and the flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the people have been the fine tradition of our party. At present, we are faced with the challenge of reactionary forces at home and abroad and have to wage a struggle against the “peaceful evolution” engineered by them. At the same time, our cause is also confronted with many difficulties. In order to triumph over the enemies and overcome difficulties, it is essential that we implement the mass line. The mass line is our magic weapon in triumphing over the enemy and overcoming difficulties. This is a matter of ultimate importance. Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the nucleus has done a good deal of work in conscientiously and effectively strengthening relations between the party and the people. The Sixth Plenary Session also adopted the decision on strengthening the party’s ties to the masses. Our leaders have set a good example for all party cadres by going among the masses to hear their voice and solve problems in actual work. Although we are confronted with numerous problems, provided that we further resolve to serve the people wholeheartedly, have faith in the people, rely on the people and become one with the people, our party will have inexhaustible strength and vigor. In this way, we will be able to surmount all difficulties on the road ahead. No enemy can crush us, but we can crush every enemy.

This article by Comrade Peng Zhen’s is a good article of combat materialism. It is a good article useful to conducting socialist education and strengthening people’s faith in socialism, and is worth studying in great earnest.



### Threefold Gains of Teachers' Labor

HK0712122190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 90 pp 17-19

[Article by Wei Shusheng (7614 2579 3932), Panjin City  
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[Text] Although life for them has been tough, the overwhelming majority of teachers think it an honor to share the worries of the state and take pleasure in bearing hardship for the people. They feel concerned about the future of the motherland and their hearts are all for the children. Through their arduous labor, they show their loyalty to the cause of people's education. Many teachers are willing to work in schools where housing conditions are poor and where extra income is minimal but which require a great deal of their attention. They are willing to serve as "king of children," a job looked down upon by many.

I am one of those who are willing to serve as teachers. People like us who are willing to serve as teachers often get together to talk about the pleasures derived from our job that spells poverty and hardship. We try to encourage one another to do our job more steadfastly, earnestly, and effectively.

Although teaching is both tough and tiring, it is nonetheless a very appealing job. The main reason lies in the threefold gains of teachers' labor.

#### I. Gains in Qualified Persons for Various Fields

Peasants reap grain, vegetables, and other agricultural products from their labor, while workers reap iron and steel, machinery, and other industrial products from their labor.

Peasants and workers feel a sense of happiness and pride when they see that grain and machinery are needed by society and that their grain and machinery can serve society and satisfy the people's needs.

What about teachers? Teachers serve the people directly. A child whose knowledge is limited and whose ability is minimal can, with the training carefully provided by his or her nursery, primary school, middle school, and university teachers, become a qualified and knowledgeable person with ability to analyze problems and who has ideal and aspirations. How can a teacher not feel happy and proud to see one's own student making solid contributions to the party and the people on the industrial, agricultural, commercial, educational, military, and other fronts?

Admittedly, the training of people is nothing like the production of grain and machinery, which has a short production cycle, can yield quick results, and can easily arouse the attention of the leadership. But then this is precisely what gives teachers a sense of mission and a sacred sense of pride and happiness as they give their all for the future of the motherland. This is also what makes teachers less eager for quick success and instant benefit.

The very nature of their task has fostered in them the qualities of broad-mindedness, far-sightedness, and tenacity, and has strengthened their concept of closely tying their own fate to the destiny of the state and the nation.

Many teachers cherish their career because they love the gains of their labor—qualified persons in various fields. They love to see their students distinguish themselves in various trades and professions, and love to imagine their students fulfilling their very dream.

#### II. Gains in Terms of Genuine Affection

Other than gains in terms of qualified persons, another major gain of teachers is genuine affection.

Man has feelings, and feelings cultivated during one's school years are particularly genuine. The exchanges that go on between the hearts of teachers and students are like the echoes one hears in the hills. Teachers appeal to the hearts of students: "I respect you, I understand you, I care about you,..." From the depths of their hearts, students reply: "I respect you, I understand you, I care about you..."

Year after year, teachers welcome new students aboard, and ferry them across to the shores of ideal with enthusiasm and heartfelt love so they can pursue their great future. Students not only continuously show their enthusiasm and heartfelt love for their teachers while on board the boat, but continue to show the same kind of enthusiasm and heartfelt love for three to five years, dozens of years, and even scores of years after each has gone his separate ways pursuing his great future. The formulas and theorems learned in class may have been forgotten, but the genuine affection cultivated between teachers and students will not only not be forgotten, but will deepen with time. Have we not seen old classmates meeting up more than 10 years, even dozens of years, after graduation to revisit their alma mater and pay their tribute to their teachers?

As man's ability to conquer nature improves, and after man has solved basic problems of livelihood like food, clothing, shelter, and transportation, there will be a growing demand for interpersonal harmony and for mutual understanding, respect, help, trust, and tolerance. Teachers' work can readily give fulfillment to these feelings. Sometimes teachers do criticize their students, and they may be enraged by students who obstinately stick to one theorem in their arguments. However, when the storm is over and students come round to understanding the facts and the good intention of their teachers, the friendship between teachers and students will deepen. When students take up work posts, the criticism given by teachers in their school days may turn out to be grounds for gratitude.

I have had several heart-to-heart talks with comrades who were once teachers but later switched to administrative work. They all seem to miss the rousing and genuine affection of students.

I have also seen many teachers who turn down offers that promise good housing arrangements, pay, and conditions. Asked why they prefer teaching, which entails poverty and hardship, to administrative leadership work, their common reply was: One does not merely live for fame and gains. We are used to teaching. When we give our genuine affection to students, and feel the same affection returned, it is the most beautiful thing on earth. It should also be noted here that the exchange of affection between teachers and students has a noble kind of beauty. Teachers never expect their students to repay them for their dedication to their cause and to students. Students who are fostered by such noble feelings cherish not only their own teachers, they also cherish the motherland, the people, their cause, and their life.

### III. Gains in Terms of Creative Fruits of Labor

Teachers serve people, and people are different. In order to make a success of education, it is necessary to give full scope to creativity. The very nature of their work determines that teachers must be knowledgeable, that they must constantly use their brain and creatively handle problems in the light of circumstances and differences between students. In this sense, teachers have the opportunity to conduct scientific research at all times.

To say nothing about the big framework of the school or society, even in terms of school education and in terms of moral, intellectual, physical, aesthetic and labor education, there are countless topics for scientific research. For instance, hundreds of papers can be written on the topic of students' concentration alone. They may include: "differences between male and female students' concentration," "changes in the concentration of different types of students during a period," "the effects of the design of exercises on students' concentration," "ways of to enhance students' concentration." How much room there is to explore!

An important reason that I love to teach is that I find teaching to be the most creative job. At whatever time or place, it is possible to find topics for research, make new discoveries, find new and progressive factors among students, see one's own potential for further development, and see favorable factors in the surrounding environments. In teaching, there is no proven way. Rather, all roads lead to Rome. I have always wondered how many possible ways there are to teach a class. There must be hundreds, even thousands of them. We should strive to find more scientific methods to conduct classes. Even if today's method is more scientific than yesterday's, it is but a conclusion drawn in comparison with the past. What about the future? There must be more scientific methods waiting to be explored.

Over the years, I have been exploring and studying scientific methods of pedagogy outside my teaching hours, publishing 66 papers in newspapers and journals at different times. I have also published a number of books, including *100 Examples of Wei Shusheng's Pedagogic Methods*, *Wei Shusheng's Probes Into the Reform*

*of Language Education*, and *Selected Writings by Wei Shusheng*. This year, the book *How Secondary School Students Should Apply Themselves To Study*, which I edited, and a 160,000-character book entitled *Random Talks on the Reform of Language Education*, which I wrote, have been published. I feel deeply that a teacher's labor will indeed contribute toward achievements in scientific research.

Seen from the angle of research, education always has something new to offer. This very fact will not only enhance our interest in work, but will help improve our efficiency. In addition to being the headmaster and party branch secretary of my school, I am also the teacher in charge of two classes of 140 students as well as a language teacher. I also have other social commitments on the side. Many comrades ask me how I managed to do so many things at the same time. My answer is that I rely mainly on scientific research. By approaching work from the angle of scientific research, it will be possible to arouse the enthusiasm of teachers and students. Teachers will then become the masters of the school and students will become the masters of their own respective classes. When everyone approaches studies on teaching and learning from the standpoint of the master, the efficiency of teaching and learning will naturally be improved.

Every one of us has needs on different level. We have needs in terms of food, clothing, shelter, and transportation; needs in terms of labor, study, research, and creation; and needs in terms of interpersonal harmony, kinship, friendship, and love. We have the need to fulfill our responsibility and duty to others, to the collective and the society, the need to strive for an ideal society.... The intensity of these needs differs between people at different levels. Some have a strong desire for material needs. Others have a strong desire for emotional needs. Still others have a strong desire to go after ideals.

Teachers are poorly paid, and their material needs are not always satisfied. However, teachers have threefold gains from their labor: Their gains in terms of qualified persons for various fields can satisfy their need to fulfill their responsibility and duty to society; their gains in terms of genuine affection can satisfy their need for interpersonal harmony and friendship; and their gains in terms of scientific research can satisfy their need for research and creation. Thus, despite the hardship, most teachers still exert themselves and devote their youth and life to the cause of people's education.

Some people say that teachers are like candles. They burn themselves out to lighten up other people's lives. But then who is not a candle? Our coming to this world is like the burning of a candle. It is natural that we will burn ourselves out. This is our common lot. The only difference is that some people only burn themselves out, but are unwilling to light up other people's lives, and may even try to hurt others, while some people try by all and every means to light up other people's lives. If we have to burn ourselves out anyway, why not try to light up other people's lives? Is it not a source of happiness to light up other people's lives? The teaching profession is one that can help light up other people's lives. In terms of the significance of cultural accumulation to social development, it is only through the process of the constant

lighting up of people's minds and through struggle and sacrifice on the part of people who are sharp-eyed and clear-headed that our ideal society can be attained. In this sense, the far-reaching significance of teacher's work goes beyond the above-mentioned threefold gains.

Despite poor pay and conditions, the majority of teachers are still dedicated to the cause of people's education. This is one aspect of the question. On the other hand, teachers' pay and conditions simply must be improved. Fortunately, the state is already aware of this need. We believe that the government will create the necessary conditions and do its best to improve the pay and conditions of teachers.

### **The Nature of U.S. Democracy Viewed From History and Reality**

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in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 90 pp 20-25

[Article by Zhang Haitao (1728 3189 3447), Institute of World History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] Is there any democracy in the United States and how should we view this kind of democracy? To answer this question, I am not going to talk about theoretical principles but merely provide some information for your reference when pondering this question.

#### **I. U.S. Democracy Is a Capitalist Democratic System**

When observing the United States, including its superstructure and ideology, we should proceed from both the realities of the United States and objective facts. The United States is a complicated society in which there is an infinite variety of multifarious and strange phenomena. However, on the whole, we can say that, basically, the United States is a highly developed capitalist country; a society composed mainly of a powerful monopoly capitalist class and a large contingent of proletariat. These two classes are both interrelated and antagonistic to each other. When we observe the United States, including its democracy, freedom, and human rights, we should not evade this basic fact, nor the reality of classes, class contradictions, and class struggle. This is the minimum requirement for a historical materialist.

Yet, when bourgeois liberalization ran rampant in our country, our theoretical circles were confused on this precise point. A number of articles kept silent on classes, class contradictions, and class struggle, while talking about the superstructure and ideology of the United States. Although some articles did talk about the U.S. economic basis and class division, what they said did not conform to the realities of the United States. A concept prevailed at that time that Western capitalism had already become modern capitalism, that is, capitalism after World War II, and that, because of the adoption of an antitrust law and the existence of large numbers of medium-sized and small enterprises, modern capitalism is no longer a monopoly capitalism. That is to say,

Lenin's theory of imperialism has lost its effectiveness. We must say that the basic principles of Marxism cannot be violated, though it is natural to make some revisions by replacing the out-of-date conclusions with new ones if some concrete conclusions drawn by Marx or Lenin are no longer suited to today's changed situation. The question is whether or not Lenin's conclusion that the capitalism coming into being at the end of the last century and the beginning of this has become a monopoly one and is already out-of-date. I dare not comment on other countries, for I have not made a study of them. But, in the United States, to say the least, I think Lenin's conclusion still remains true. In the 1970's, there were several hundreds of thousands of industrial corporations in the United States, of which 500 of the largest held 70 percent of the total industry in terms of total asset value, gross sales value, total profits, and total number of employees. What is this if not monopoly capitalism? In the United States, 50 of the largest commercial banks, 50 insurance companies, 50 retail commercial companies, 50 public undertaking companies, and 50 transportation companies monopolize each of their own fields. Did this state of affairs change in the 1980's? No. On the contrary, the degree of capital amassment and monopolization was even enhanced. Is it only when the monopoly enterprises monopolize all economic fields and wipe out all medium-sized and small enterprises that it can be regarded as monopoly capitalism? Of course not, nor it is Lenin's original meaning. There is no such pure and homogeneous society in the world. Another fashionable concept in the country some time ago was the various comments on the middle class. This concept is copied from U.S. bourgeois scholars who use a very simple standard to differentiate class status, that is, by putting several strokes on the personal income statistics issued by the U.S. Government, they regard those with an annual income of a certain amount of U.S. dollars as the upper class, those below an annual income of another certain amount as the lower class, and those in between the two classes as the middle class. They have their own reason for making such a division. By evading people's positions in production relations as well as the crucial issue of whether or not people own the means of production, they aim to conceal the essence between the exploiting and the exploited classes. This is certainly unscientific. I do not mean that there is no middle and petty bourgeoisie in the United States; what I mean is that a Marxist should not indiscriminately copy the standards of class division employed by U.S. bourgeois scholars.

In speaking of democracy, many people think that we are undemocratic and that the United States is democratic. We should not keep silent on this issue. In my opinion: First, it can be said that the democratic system of our socialist country is superior to that of the United States. The main reason is that, by eliminating the exploiting class and setting up a system of the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class as well as on the basis of a worker-peasant alliance, the vast

numbers of the masses are no longer oppressed by the oppressor class and have become the masters of their own country.

Second, we must admit that for a considerable time after the founding of our country, we neglected the building of a political democracy. In recent years however, we have tried hard and achieved great progress in the building of democracy and legal systems. Nevertheless, we still need more democratic life and should further strengthen and perfect our people's democratic system. What we have accomplished so far still falls far short of our goal, that is, a highly civilized and highly democratic socialist society.

Third, we must admit that there is indeed democracy in the United States. As we are currently opposing bourgeois liberalization, I think we should put special emphasis on this point. Being materialists, we do not deny facts. The United States holds a general election every four years, a midterm election between two general elections, and another election between a general election and a midterm one; elections are held every year, or even every month. Although the security checks are very strict, one can visit the national Congress, or attend a Congressional public meeting as a visitor, as long as one does not carry any lethal weapons. This shows that the United States is a country with democracy, which I consider a fact. However, the question is: What is the class essence of their democratic system? As Marxists, we should not neglect this point. We should not judge things simply on their appearance; we must grasp their essence.

The class essence of U.S. democracy is a bourgeois democratic system, which can be analyzed from five aspects:

1. Elections in the United States are manipulated by the bourgeoisie (which means monopoly bourgeoisie when referring to this century; the same below). The bourgeoisie depends mainly on three weapons in manipulating elections, namely money, political parties, and mass media. It also guards an important pass—the nomination of candidates, that is, the nomination of candidates for president, members of Congress, governors, members of state legislatures, mayors, and members of city legislatures. So long as it holds this pass, it will let people vote freely. There were various restrictions on the qualifications of electorates in the United States, for example, neither women nor black people had the vote. All these restrictions have been withdrawn from federal law. This is because the bourgeoisie has gained experience knowing that, as long as it holds the nomination of candidates, draws a frame to separate the right to vote from that to stand for election, and keeps the right to stand for election within the limit of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie will not care in what way people cast their votes.

2. Whether it is the Democratic or Republican Party, they are both bourgeois political parties, acting as two hands which are simultaneously or alternatively used by

the bourgeoisie, or two stores run by the same boss. So-called pluralistic politics [zheng zhi duo yuan hua 2398 3112 1122 0337 0553] in the United States is, in fact, a centralized politics. Can some small political parties enter compete with the Democrats and Republicans? They can. But the former is unable to win the competition, for the latter are backed by money and power. In all previous general elections, in addition to candidates from the Democrats and the Republicans, others from small parties were also listed as candidates in polling booths. However, never has one candidate from a small party been elected president of the United States.

3. The bourgeoisie not only monopolize the economy but also dominate politics. On the surface, elections seem very democratic. All Americans who are at or above the age of 18 and were born in the United States, or immigrants who have obtained U.S. citizenship, have the vote. Yet, over the 200 years since the founding of the United States, all state leaders elected through democratic elections, no matter if they are presidents, members of Congress, governors, state legislatures, members, or mayors, have been representatives of the bourgeoisie (although they have played different roles in history). There has not been one instance in the 200-year U.S. history in which proletarian representatives have been elected governors, much less presidents. In the second half of the last century, one or two candidates from the Socialist Party were elected members of Congress, but the Socialist Party was not a Marxist political party. In the 1940's, one or two Communists were elected city legislature members, but were soon arrested by the Truman administration and put into jail as thoroughgoing political and ideological prisoners. This shows clearly that the bourgeoisie will by no means share political power with the proletariat.

4. Representatives of the proletariat do not participate in state power, neither do people within the bourgeoisie enjoy equal democratic rights. Their democratic rights are decided by their own economic and political strength: The greater strength one possesses, the more democratic rights one can enjoy. For six years during the 1970's, when I was in New York as head of the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY branch accredited to the United Nations, I had some contact with financial capitals on Wall Street, such as the Chase Manhattan Bank, Citibank, Morgan Bank, and Manufacturer's Hanover Trust, and attended their annual shareholders meeting. At the meeting, the amount of votes was decided by the number of shares. For instance, one vote accounts for 10 votes if I have 10 shares in hand; while one vote equals 100,000 votes if one possesses 100,000 shares. Big shareholders cared nothing about the discussions and debates at the meeting, no matter how fierce they were. When the vote came, big shareholders always won by a majority. Things are basically the same with the superstructure and political realm of the United States.

In observing the tripartite balance of forces in state power, if we pay attention mainly to their actual deeds



instead of what they have said, it is not difficult to draw the conclusion that the government, Congress, and Supreme Court, when carrying out administration, legislation, and case-handling, all act as virtual representatives of the bourgeoisie in the service of its interests. Of course, it cannot be said that American people's demands cannot be reflected in the administration of the government, the legislation of Congress, and the Supreme Court. It should be admitted that people's demands can be reflected to a certain extent under certain conditions. However, the class essence of political power with the tripartite balance of power is not changed in the slightest degree.

Compared with a monarchy under a feudalist system, the tripartite balance of power adopted by U.S. bourgeois politics is undoubtedly progress. Socialism thoroughly denies capitalism, no matter what its production relationships, its state power, or its ideology. At the same time however, there also exists a relationship of inheritance with discrimination between itself and capitalism. Some forms of the U.S. bourgeois democracy are not suitable for us (such as the tripartite balance of power and the centralized power system of the presidency); others are worth studying and using for reference.

## II. The U.S. Bourgeois Democratic System Means a Dictatorial System for the Proletariat

The U.S. state machine of the tripartite balance of power is undoubtedly a tool for class oppression and an organ of class domination. However, this regime also has its rational functions. Marx theoretically resolved this question long ago, which is indeed how things stand in reality. Even the regime of a slave owner or a feudal landlord has certain rational functions, so the regime of the bourgeoisie is no exception, of course. We must therefore make it clear before we come to the dictatorial essence of U.S. bourgeois democracy.

In recent years, a fashionable concept prevailing in our country's academic circles holds that the U.S. working class is no longer a main force in the transformation of society, and its historical position is being increasingly replaced by "the class of automation" and "the managerial class"; while the U.S. Government is becoming a government which stands for the whole people. I consider this absolutely ridiculous. In order to explain, I am going to make a brief review of history. Having personally experienced the amelioration of Sino-American relations, I am unwilling to mention past history. But, since it is impossible for me to clarify my point without mentioning the past, I will give a briefing on some historical facts here.

In my opinion, the 125-year period in U.S. history from the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865) until now is a bloody history in which the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat, a history in which the bourgeoisie bribed labor aristocracy and sabotaged the struggle of the working class, and a history of treason by scabs represented by the [American] Federation of Labor [AFL] and

the Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO]. This period of history can be roughly divided into three phases:

The first phase is from the Paris Commune to the October Revolution. I will start with two facts in the historical background. The first fact is that during the U.S. Civil War, the U.S. Congress approved a conscription law in 1836 which contained a very peculiar stipulation: If I am unwilling to be recruited into the Army, I can buy myself a replacement to fight at the front. The price for one replacement was \$300. J.P. Morgan, founder of the Morgan financial group, and John Rockefeller, founder of the Rockefeller financial group, each spent \$300 dollars for a replacement to go to the front while they themselves remained in the rear, making fortunes in steel and oil, thus laying the foundation for the Morgan and Rockefeller dynasties. After the U.S. Civil War, U.S. capitalism developed rapidly and soon moved toward monopolization, while the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was accordingly aggravated. The second fact in the historical background is that, although communist ideas were disseminated in the United States long ago, the real communist political party was founded rather late. Marx's *Communist Manifesto* was published in Paris in 1848 and made its way to the United States in 1852. At its meeting held in The Hague, Netherlands, in 1872, the First International, which was founded by Marx himself, decided to move its general committee to New York. At its first congress held in Philadelphia in 1876, the general committee announced the disbandment of the First International. That is to say, the First International carried out its activities and was disbanded in the United States. The history of the communist movement in the United States began earlier not only than in China, but also than in Russia. During the U.S. Civil War, communists and the bourgeoisie in the North entered into an alliance and fought shoulder to shoulder. Despite this, only several socialist groups with complicated ideological trends and loose organizational structures emerged in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of this century. The Communist Party of the United States of America was not founded until May 1921, only two months earlier than our party. The existence of the Paris Commune as the first proletarian dictatorship in the world terrified the U.S. bourgeoisie. From then on, although no real communist parties existed in the United States for a long time, the bourgeoisie, by sticking Red labels on others and with the threat of "communist rebellions" or "the Communist Party's plots to overthrow the Government of the United States of America by armed means," oppressed the struggle of the proletariat fighting for a better life and better working conditions. Anticommunism has become a tradition of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

As early as the 1870's, the bourgeoisie utilized the government, Congress, courts, Army, police, and prisons to carry out a large-scale suppression of the struggle of the proletariat. In 1873 an economic crisis broke out in

the United States, and masses of workers held various strikes and demonstrations to preserve their own rights of existence. The federal government immediately transferred troops stationed in the South back to the North to put down the workers' struggles there. In 1877, railway workers held a national strike in protest of a wage-cut by the capitalists. The federal government called out 100,000 troops, including the regular Army and the National Guard of several states, to suppress this workers' movement.

In the 1880's, the federal government and state governments called out troops and police to carry out a series of suppressions of strikes. Among these, the most flagrant was the suppression of the workers' struggle which began on 1 May 1886 which was aimed mainly at the institution of an eight-hour working day. The government carried out a bloody suppression of this struggle. Eight leaders were brought to trial and sentenced to death by the state court of Illinois, which asserted that they "plotted an armed overthrow of the government of the United States of America." Of the eight, four were hanged, one died in prison, and the other three were later released.

The 1890's is called a time of blood in the history of the U.S. labor movement. I will mention only one thing here. The Rocky Mountains are a well-known nonferrous metals mining area. In the 1890's, governors of several administrations of the state of Colorado called out the National Guard 10 times. Eighty years after the suppressions when I paid a visit to the Rockies, local people still spoke of this period in history.

At the same time as carrying out bloody suppressions, the bourgeoisie had another plan. The monopoly capital set up a National Union of Citizens [quan guo gong min lian he hui 0356 0948 0361 3046 5114 0678 2585]. Its openly announced goal was to "combine three powerful forces, that is, capital, labor, and common people, so as to resolve disputes between labor and capital by gradual means instead of revolutionary ones." Who were members of the union? The president was a financier on Wall Street, and among the members were the then President Cleveland, the steel king Carnegie, several bankers, the director of the U.S. Steel Company, and the general managers of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, the American Bell Telephone Company, and the Boston-Maine Railway Company. What is worthy of note is that among the members were president of the AFL Warbasse, president of the United Mine Workers Union Mitchell, and presidents of the Shoemakers Union, the Amalgamated Transit Union, and the International Brotherhood of Technical Engineers. Although it played an active role in the "1 May" strike in 1886, the AFL has openly sat on the same bench as capitalists from 1900 until now.

The period between 1901 and 1917 is called "a time of progress" in U.S. history. Even in these years, incidents in which the government called out troops to put down the workers' struggles never ceased. In 1903, miners in one part of the Rockies held a strike to fight for the

institution of an eight-hour working day. At the order of the government, General Sherman Bell led troops to the mountains, announced military control of this mining area, notified the city's mayor and police bureau chief to obey his orders, and carried out an immediate large-scale arrest among workers. A small local newspaper was closed for raising an objection to the moves taken by the general, and the head of its editorial department, the staff, and some printers were arrested. The local court accepted and heard the charges filed by the labor union. The general called out troops to surround the court with guns pointing at the tribunal. Being reminded of "the Constitution of the United States of America," the general smiled and said, "To hell with the Constitution." The first struggle carried out by the World Union of Industrial Workers after its establishment in 1905 was to fight for freedom of speech for the working class. While members of the union were reading the "Declaration of Independence" and "the Constitution of the United States of America," soldiers and policemen went so far as to drag them off the stage, beat them up, and arrest them. Among those arrested was William Foster, who later became the leader of the Communist Party of the United States of America. Poet Joe Hill, who was very popular among workers, was framed in a case against him and sentenced to death by the authorities. In 1912, 23,000 female textile workers in Massachusetts held a strike in protest of a wage-cut by the capitalists. Twenty-two units of the state National Guard were ordered to immediately suppress these barehanded women. In 1914, the strike held by miners in the fuel and iron company run by John Rockefeller in Colorado was brutally put down, adding a big stain on the family history of the Rockefellers. Until now, this incident is still taboo for the Rockefeller family.

The second phase starts with the October Revolution and ends with World War II. Immediately after the victory of the Russian October Revolution, the Wilson administration joined the 14-country armed intervention in Russia. Afterwards, the U.S. bourgeoisie went all-out to suppress the struggle of American workers on the excuse that they "were under the command of the Kremlin" or their struggles "were Bolshevik plots." In 1919, a strike broke out in which 365,000 steel workers participated, and it was brutally put down by government troops. On 2 January 1920, with the coordination of his assistant Edgar Hoover (who later became chief of the FBI), Mitchell Palmer, (who was a capitalist himself), secretary of justice [as published] in the Wilson administration, suddenly carried out large-scale arrests among workers in 70 cities simultaneously throughout the country (including Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, and New York), and arrested and imprisoned more than 10,000 workers who were at home, in bed, in the street, or in meeting-rooms while being arrested. This was the notorious "Palmer arrest" in U.S. history. From then on, the U.S. Government further stepped up its suppression of the struggle of the proletariat. During the period between 1920 and 1927, the following case took place. A worker was put on the government blacklist for



being keen on reading Marx's *Das Kapital*, Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, and works of literature by Hugo, Gorky, and Tolstoy. Another worker sharing identical views with him was also put on the blacklist. They led a strike, but a very small one. They were against U.S. participation in World War I, but they did not organize any antiwar movements. They were not communists. They were framed in a case against them and arrested by the government, and sentenced to death simply because they broke a taboo with their political views. At that time, protest rallies were held by the international proletariat from Paris, London, Madrid, Havana, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Bombay, to Moscow. Even the then British prime minister and French prime minister, who was relieved of his office, objected to this case. Large-scale protests also took place within the United States. However, the two workers were put to the electric chair all the same. This is a typical example of the so-called freedom of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

The 1930's with surging strikes can be said to have been a time when police batons, tear gas, and machine guns were frequently used. In 1932, 25,000 unemployed retired soldiers marched toward Washington demanding that the government release their additional wages which had been defaulted. General MacArthur, then chief of staff of the Armed Forces, and Colonel Eisenhower launched a large-scale encirclement and suppression of these unemployed retired soldiers. In 1932, President Roosevelt won the presidential election. At that time, the United States was in the middle of an unprecedented economic crisis. According to reference in hand, Roosevelt had a feeling while he was running for the presidency that the proletariat was preparing to start a revolution. That is why, after he assumed office in March 1933, he drastically pursued new policies of appeasement in order to save the U.S. monopoly capital from its approaching doom. However, he also repeatedly resorted to highhanded measures regarding the workers' struggles.

The third phase is from the end of World War II, especially the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, until now. Immediately after the end of World War II, the U.S. bourgeoisie made a series of dispositions to suppress the proletariat. The birth of New China shocked them and since then it has intensified its efforts to suppress the U.S. proletariat.

Various incidents took place during "the McCarthy era," characterized by persecutions under the banner of anti-China and anticommunism, on large numbers of people who respected truth and upheld justice as well as progressive people. Here I will mention one thing that has nothing to do with Senator McCarthy, one thing that was mentioned by Comrade William Foster in his work entitled *The History of the Communist Party of the United States of America* on pages 509 to 518. On 20 July 1948, the federal government called out the police to arrest all the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States of America, including William Foster, national chairman of the party, and the party's general

secretary, organization secretary, labor secretary, education secretary, and other leading members. These leaders were later brought to trial by the Federal District Court, the Federal Court of Appeals, and the Federal Supreme Court with the charge that the Communist Party of the United States of America attempted to "overthrow the Government of the United States of America by force." The so-called evidence was Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, Lenin's *State and Revolution*, and Stalin's *Problems of Leninism* and *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*. It was on the basis of such evidence that the courts declared all the leaders of the party guilty and put all of them into prison in July 1951. Four of the leaders, who refused to serve the sentence and fled, were later arrested one after another and sentenced to longer terms of imprisonment. We would like to ask: Are there any democratic rights or freedom that the U.S. bourgeoisie will give to the proletariat?

In the 1960's, the Johnson administrations and many state governments called out large numbers of soldiers to put down the struggles of black people in cities such as Los Angeles and Detroit. In the 1970's when the Nixon administrations was in power, three antiwar tides in the United States, which were participated in mainly by young students, were also put down by the regular Army and the National Guard.

At the beginning of the 1980's, as soon as he rose to power, Reagan adopted his first important measure to put down the air traffic controllers strike. All those who had participated in this strike were fired without exception, while their leaders were put into prison handcuffed and fettered. It was the first, but not the only time, President Reagan dealt with workers' struggles by high-handed means.

How are things now? I will raise only one point here, that is, the 10 crimes specified in U.S. Law from Clause 2381 to Clause 2391. Clause 2381 is about treason; Clause 2382, shielding treason; Clause 2383, rebellion; Clause 2384, instigation and conspiracy; Clause 2385, dissemination to overthrow the government; and Clause 2386, certain organizations which should register with the government, or they will be declared guilty. "Certain organizations" here refer mainly to communist organizations, while the crime of "dissemination to overthrow the government" in Clause 2385 means that all materials that advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States of America or any of the state governments, including materials of printing, editing, publishing, displaying in public places, as well as those for issuance and sale will be found guilty. What is referred to here is only dissemination, not real action. Some people in our country regard the United States as a wonderful land of freedom where one is able to say and do anything he wishes. They are really too naive.

Can we draw a conclusion from what we have talked about: That the U.S. bourgeoisie's democracy means dictatorship to the proletariat? In my personal opinion: We can say so.

**Run Key Construction Projects Still Better**

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[Article by Chen Guangjian (7115 0342 0256), State Planning Commission]

**[Text] Accomplishments in Key Construction and Their Significance**

Over the 40 years since the founding of the Republic, particularly in the last 10 years, our country's socialist modernization has made brilliant accomplishments. This is indivisible from our party and government's leading the people of the whole country, in a planned and organized manner, to carry out large-scale key construction.

In the 1950's, we concentrated our forces to undertake large-scale key construction with "156 projects" as the backbone, which involved metallurgy, railroads, electrical machinery, the war industry for national defense, water conservancy, and so forth. From the 1960's to the 1970's, we overcame numerous difficulties and concentrated financial and material power to undertake the key construction of the Daqing Oilfield, Pangzhihua Iron and Steel Combine, the 1.1-meter rolling machine of the Wuhan Steel Plant, the Liajiaxia Hydroelectric Power Station, 13 sets of large chemical fertilizer equipment, Hubei No. 2 Motor Vehicles Plant, Lanzhou-Xinjiang Railway, and a number of other large backbone projects. This greatly increased the productive power of our country's principal industries, improved their layout, and basically established a communications and transport framework covering the whole country. During the same period, we also carried out key construction on the aviation, aerospace, and nuclear industries, and enabled our country's national defense power and advanced scientific technology to reach a new level.

Pushed forward by the reform and open door, our country's economy achieved its fastest development during the 1980's. The results of key construction projects were also most notable during that period. Over the past 10 years, key construction was carried out in the industries, trades, and departments of energy, communications, raw materials, science, and technology; 153 large and medium-sized energy projects including the Gezhouba Hydroelectric Power Station, the Pingsui Open Coalmine, and others were completed; 88 key large and medium-sized projects in the raw materials industries were completed, including Shanghai Bao Steel, Jidong Cement Plant, the three large ethylene projects of Daqing, Qilu, and Yangzi, and others; 125 key, large and medium-sized communications, transport, postal, and telecommunications projects were completed, including the Daqin electrified railroad's first-stage engineering project, the Qinghai-Xizhang highway, the three-stage project of Qinhuangdao harbor's coal wharf, the Beijing-Wuhan-Guangzhou Zhongtong (0022 0681) electric cable engineering project, and others. A number of top-notch scientific and research facilities, including the

Lanzhou heavy-iron accelerator, Beijing positive and negative electron collision machine, and so forth, were completed; and a number of key large, and medium-sized projects with a bearing on the material and cultural life of the people were completed, such as the Jiangsu Yizheng Chemical Fiber Plant, Shaanxi colored kinescope plant, central colored television center, Beijing Library, and others. The completion of these large and medium-sized projects has further strengthened our national economy.

Our country's socialist economic development has fully demonstrated the big and important role played by key construction and its far-reaching significance. It directly determines the strengthening of our country's economy, controls the various areas of development of the economy and society, and is the material foundation for the further consolidation of the socialist system.

First, performing a good job in key construction plays a decisive role in the realization of the four modernizations and augmenting national strength. Key construction refers to the backbone construction projects that the state determines, proceeding from the whole situation of the national economy and social development and based on the possibility of national strength. When selecting these key projects, it is necessary to consider both current and partial interests and, more important, long-term interests and aggregate benefits; it is necessary to watch domestic development and also to create the conditions to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced level. The "156" key projects of the 1950's laid the initial foundation for New China's industrial development. Now, with our country advancing toward the target of modernization, various industries and trades all hope to speed up their development, but, if there is no corresponding strengthening of key construction then the foundation for development will not be firm enough. Our country's economy can progress and develop in a healthy manner only when we have a firm agricultural foundation, sufficient energy resources, and transport power; a relatively complete variety and plentiful amount of raw materials; and, concurrently, only after having reorganized and transformed the processing industry and greatly enhanced our scientific and technical level.

Second, doing a good job in key construction is beneficial to the gradual enhancement of the level of the people's material and cultural life. Our objectives are that by the end of this century the people's living will be fairly affluent and that both agriculture and the consumer goods industry will have attained a relatively great development, but these must be based on the prerequisite of making the necessary key construction. Improvement in the various aspects of the people's living is indivisible from the development of such industries as textiles, food, building materials, and machine-building, but the development of these industries and trades must

be based on the conditions of the corresponding development of agriculture, water conservancy, energy, communications and transport, raw materials, and other basic facilities. This is easy to see.

Performing key construction well can further manifest the strong points of the socialist system and lay the material foundation for consolidating and developing it. Our country is a developing one. Only by putting the strong points of the socialist public ownership system into full play and by centralizing in the state the necessary manpower, material, and financial power to conduct key construction will it be possible to improve the national economy and lay a firm foundation for consolidating and developing the socialist system. On the other hand, the socialist system also creates conditions for performing well the job of key construction. Without a centralized and unified development plan for the national economy under the socialist system, without the guiding thought of the whole country being like a chess game, without the protection and assurance of powerful and organized leadership, key construction projects cannot be carried out and run well. Hence, we should fully display the strong points of the socialist system and perform key construction still better.

Fourth, performing key construction well can push forward readjustment of the economic structure. At present, our country is in the crucial stage of economic improvement and rectification. One of its central tasks is to readjust the structure and solve the deep-lying contradictions in our country's economic life. One of the centralized manifestations of the irrational proportional relations in our country's economy is the serious imbalance in the proportional relations between basic industries and facilities and the processing industry. During a certain period, everywhere in the country there was shortages in coal, electric power, oil, and steel materials, while both cargo and passenger transport were in extremely short supply. Although these conditions are somewhat improved now, the problem of imbalance in supply and demand has not been basically solved. Performing the job of key construction and increasing the production power of goods in short supply will basically readjust the proportional relations of the economy and is one of the important ways to ameliorate the industrial structure. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. The basic industries and trades of energy, communications, and major raw materials, and basic facilities are the supporting pillars of the national economy. We should, on the precondition of strictly controlling the gross volume of investment in fixed assets, give priority to arranging key construction in agriculture, the energy industry, transport, communications, and the important raw materials industry. As for the rest, we should, revolving around the theme of key construction, attend to their developing work separately according to grades so as to change the current proportionally imbalanced state, and enable our economy to enter the track of sustained, stable, and coordinated development.

### **Fundamental Experiences for Running Key Construction Well**

Over the years, in the actual practice of running key construction well our country has accumulated the following fundamental experiences:

#### **1. Firmly Insist on the Guideline of Proceeding According to Our Country's National Conditions and Centralizing Strength To Give Priority To Ensuring Key Construction**

In undertaking economic construction in a developing country such as ours which has a large population, a weak foundation, and small per capita resources, in order to accomplish, and accomplish well, several large affairs, it is necessary, under the guidance of the state plan, to centralize a definite amount of finances, material, and manpower to run key construction. Naturally, we must take due consideration of our strength but must also exert the utmost effort. Since the founding of the Republic, for the sake of consolidating and strengthening our country's socialist economic power, we have emphasized displaying the superior character of the socialist system in the planned development of the national economy in different historical periods. We have firmly insisted on the guideline of centralizing strength to give priority to protecting and ensuring key construction and have strived hard to lay the material foundation for realization of our country's industrialization and modernization. From 1953 to 1989, the state expended over 800 billion yuan on investment on agriculture, energy, communications, posts and telecommunications, and important raw materials industries and trades. This amounted to more than 50 percent of the capital construction investment in units owned by the whole people during the period. After 1979, as the state reduced its investment, and for the sake of raising key construction funds, we adopted a series of policies and measures such as collection of construction taxes, collection of energy and communications key construction funds, releasing bank loans, floating debentures, and the introduction of foreign capital. These policies and measures have played an important role in solving the problem of key construction funds. In the supply of materials and equipment, the state has enforced various measures such as direct planning, administration and control in categories, making priority arrangements and coordinated supply, and so forth, and employed the limited resources available on key construction. In the employment and arrangement of the construction teams, the state also adopted the measures of centralizing the strong and superior forces and paying concentrated attention to organizing them, thus basically ensuring the completion of the state's key construction tasks.

#### **2. Coordinate and Display the Two Positive Aspects of the Central and Local Governments**

Because key construction projects require huge investments, have long construction periods, possess many stages, touch on a wide area, and often face complex and complicated external and internal relations, they cannot

be completed by relying solely on the strength of a certain central department, unit, or certain locality; it is necessary under the unified planning and guidance of the central government, that the various sides give their concerted cooperation and fully display the positivism of both the central government and the local authorities. Over the past many years, the various departments of the central and local governments at various levels have done much work on key construction, such as frequently organizing cooperative work in various forms. Many leadership comrades have visited the key construction sites to work on the spot or to convene on-the-spot office meetings to solve important problems existing in construction. For the sake of doing a good job in key construction, the various departments and localities have usually set up key construction leadership units or offices with leadership cadres being responsible for their work, and have thus strengthened leadership. The relevant departments of the central government, simultaneously arranging their own state key construction projects well, have actively done a good job in providing coordinating services to the state key construction projects of other departments. Many local governments have given great support in the supply of local materials, supply of means of living, land requisition, relocation of some sites in order to make land available for the central government, and migration. Particularly in recent years, local governments have invested large amounts of capital in key construction and thus enabled it to be strengthened.

### **3. Under the Guideline of Firmly Insisting on Self-Regeneration, Actively Utilize Foreign Capital and Introduce Foreign Advanced Technology and Strengthen Our Country's Self-Regenerative Power**

Independence, autonomy, and self-regeneration are the basic experiences we have gained in the successes of our country's revolution and construction. They constitute our foothold. On the foundation of independence and autonomy, firm insistence on the reform and open door, striving for developing economic and technological cooperation with other countries, proceeding from reality, utilizing foreign capital, introducing advanced technology and seeking their consumption, absorption, elevation, and renovation, are the effective means to strengthen our country's self-regenerative carrying out of socialist modernization. In abiding by this guideline in our key construction we have made pleasing accomplishments. From 1979 to 1989, we actually utilized \$57.8 billion of foreign capital, of which a considerably large portion was used on the state's key construction projects, and thus made up for the insufficiency in our key construction funds. Simultaneously with adopting our internal advanced technology and equipment, we have also introduced a large number of foreign advanced technologies, advanced equipment, and management experiences, and built a number of backbone enterprises such as the Baoshan Iron and Steel Plant, which annually produces 6 million tons of pig iron, 6 million tons of crude steel, and 4.5 million tons of steel plates and seamless steel tubes; the Guixi Metallurgical Plant,

which produces 200,000 tons of copper annually; the Shanxi Da Bao open coal mine, which annually produces 15 million tons of coal; the Daqin Railway, with an annual transport capacity of 100 million tons of freight; the third-stage engineering project of the Qinhuangdao coal wharf, with an annual handling capacity of 30 million tons; and so on. Simultaneous with introduction of foreign technology, through the process of digestion and absorption, we have greatly raised the level of domestic production.

### **4. Firmly Insist on Integrating Reform and Development and Making Reform Promote Construction**

Reform of the investment structure is an important constituent portion of the reform of the entire economic structure. We have carried out a series of reforms on the various stages of policymaking on projects, planning, and construction in the realm of investment and construction and in such phases as planned management, control of funds and materials, control of projects, and so forth. First, regarding the source of investment, a shift has been developed from the unitary channel of financial appropriations from the state to the new pattern of coexistence of many channels of capital funds. Before 1979, over 80 percent of investment funds came from appropriations from the state's financial budget. From 1980 to 1989 the state's budgetary investments dropped to an average of less than 40 percent. By opening up sources of funds, we have fully utilized various categories of capital funds, particularly the self-owned funds of departments, localities, and enterprises. Second, the main investment body has changed from the state alone investing in units owned by the whole people to a plural investment body including the central government, local governments, and the whole people, collectives, enterprises of three capital sources, and urban and rural individuals. In key construction at present, a large portion of the projects are jointly invested in by the central government, localities, and enterprises. This has the beneficial effect of arousing the enthusiasm of various sides and promoting the development of key construction. Third, the investments have also been changed from noncompensatory investment by the state to compensatory investment, and a new investment management responsibility system has been gradually set up. In the course of key construction, we have put in force different forms of the investment contracting responsibility system, established the capital construction sinking fund system, set up a state specialized investment company; and, through efforts made on various sides, have actively performed the roles of strengthening economic responsibility, savings on investment, and reducing waste and extravagance. Fourth, in the policy structure of projects, the advanced experiences of developed countries have been absorbed. Beginning in 1982, the system of preliminary work plans for projects was formulated, and following it, the China International Engineering Advisory Corporation and engineering advisory companies in the localities were organized. So far, the China International Advisory Corporation alone



has completed the assessment and examination work of over 600 projects. This has not only rendered the construction projects more rational, but has also saved the state over 10 billion yuan in investment. We have also gradually set up a policymaking system that operates at various levels and has as its main element the study and assessment of project feasibility. We have thus taken a big step forward in rendering policymaking scientific and democratic. Fifth, in the realm of investment in construction, the mechanism of market competition has been introduced, and the method of inviting tenders and of making tenders for planning and construction of engineering projects has been implemented. Over the past three years, tenders have been invited for the building of four large chemical fertilizer plants, three large soda plants, and more than 600 textile export projects; for the planning of a number of projects; and for the construction of more than 10,000 individual engineering projects. Of these, international tenders were invited for the construction of the tunnel for the Lubuge hydroelectric power station in Yunnan. This created the new situation of low building costs and fast work, and at the same time, accumulated for us a body of new experiences in construction organization and management.

#### **Existing Problems in Key Construction and Their Countermeasures**

Concurrently with our affirming the accomplishments in key construction and summing up basic experiences, we should clearly see that many outstanding problems still confront the development of the national economy. For example, agriculture has a weak foundation and lacks stamina; the supply conditions of energy and raw materials, and the state of communications and transport are backward; and there has been no substantial change in the backward condition of science, technology, and education. All these problems can be eased only by strengthening key construction and increasing economic strength. Certain problems also exist in key construction which urgently need a solution. First, there is insufficient understanding of the importance of key construction. Certain departments and localities, proceeding from their short-term interests, have invested in much redundant construction when introducing the processing industry and have still failed to give priority to key construction in their economic work. In actual work, certain departments and localities, instead of doing their utmost to protect and ensure the state's key projects, have "devoured the key projects," violated the state's relevant regulations, set up their own rules, resorted to various pretexts to collect random fees and levies from the state's key construction, and imposed fines at random on it, thus causing the steady diminution of construction raised with great difficulty by the state. Even more serious, certain units used these funds to build massive halls and buildings or used them on nonproductive construction, on the purchase of luxury sedans, or to grant awards at random and give banquets.

These conditions have not only seriously affected construction of the state's key projects but have also degraded the party and political atmosphere, causing great discontent of the masses. Second, the excessive investment scale, the overly large number of projects under construction, and the dispersal of funds and materials have deeply affected input in key construction. As of yearend 1989, there were still over 60,000 projects under construction in the whole country and the gross scale of projects under construction amounted to over 700 billion yuan. Deducting the work already completed, even though there will be no more new projects from now on, judging from the existing level of annual investment, this massive scale of ongoing construction projects will need at least three more years to complete. Hence, if we do not appropriately centralize financial power and material power, there is no way to ensure key construction. Third, in the investment structure, there is still an irrational phenomenon. Seen from the investment structure in recent years, the investment ratio of the basic industries, particularly the energy industry, has always been raised, but due to the fact that the processing industry has developed too rapidly and that there has been no transformation of the industries and products that consume energy and raw materials, the basic industries of coal, petroleum, and electric power and the basic facilities have been unable to meet current needs. Fourth, poor management and control of the projects. In the case of certain projects, because of inadequate planning arrangements, the relevant external and internal coordinating engineering work and facilities have not been completed at the same pace, and their production capacity cannot be fully displayed. Certain projects have failed to follow the established capital construction schedule and have attempted "three-sided" construction. Certain other projects, because of weakness in construction, planning, and management in the course of building, have caused repeated increases in investment and repeated delays in completion; while some projects, because of the poor quality of the equipment, have for a long time failed to reach their designed production capacity. All these have caused serious losses, frightening waste, and low investment effects.

Against these existing principal problems in key construction, we must offer the utmost cooperation and adopt the following set of effective countermeasures:

First, raise the understanding of the significance of key construction further.

Economic development is the foundation for a country's stability, unity, and prolonged peace and security. Doing a good job in key construction has a bearing on the general situation of the national economy and the basic interests of the various races of the country. In the final analysis, if we fail to do key construction well, then the national economy cannot develop normally, various enterprises cannot move forward, and the political situation cannot be stabilized. We must earnestly raise the understanding of the importance of key construction, and put the state's key construction in first place in the

economic construction work of the various regions and departments. We must correctly handle relations between current and long-term interests, partial interests and interests of the whole, and ordinary construction and key construction; truly establish the ideology of taking the whole country as one chessboard; and give priority to the state's key construction, particularly in regard to the arrangements and disposal of funds and material resources. We must further fill in and improve the administrative structure of key construction and perform the work of organizational coordination and adjustment well. From now on, in examining and assessing the political performance of leadership cadres at various levels, we should consider how they have fared in key construction work.

Planning committees at various levels and the administrative structures of key construction should of their own initiative, liaise with the relevant sides, extensively and deeply propagate to the masses of people the enormous accomplishments and important significance of key construction, make the important nature and significance of key construction known to each and every household; and thus gradually form the new situation of everybody in the country being concerned about and supporting basic construction.

Second, continue to firmly insist on the guideline of reform and the open door, and step up key construction.

The major point of reform in investment and construction should be placed on the planning structure. We should strengthen the capability of macroeconomic adjustment and control and appropriately centralize the power of examining and sanctioning projects that go newly into operation; we should initiate a regulatory tax according to investment (at the same time abolish the construction tax), enforce differential tax rates in accordance with the state's industrial policy so as to strengthen the guidance and regulation of the funds inside the budget, and transfer a portion of the investments in non-key construction to the state's key construction; we should actively improve and gradually strengthen the buildup of a macroeconomic adjustment and control structure over the whole society's investment and gradually establish a restrictive mechanism over the various principal investment bodies and their investment conduct. In policymaking on projects, we should continue the system of "assessment first, policymaking afterward," work strictly according to the capital construction procedure, fully display the advisory and assessment role of the advisory company, and earnestly study the feasibility of the projects; we should gradually set up and improve the responsibility system covering decisionmaking on projects and the corresponding supervisory and inspection system, sternly forbid leadership at various levels from individually deciding on, examining, and sanctioning projects prior to having fully discussed the projects in advance, and continuously raise the scientific and democratic level of policymaking on the projects. In the actual construction of projects, we should continue to enforce investment contracting,

inviting tenders, and the construction work economic responsibility system in various forms and at various levels, and gradually overcome the evils of "everybody eating from the same big pot"; and we should further revise and improve the "investment contracting measures on capital construction projects," and as soon as possible promulgate the "temporary regulations governing inviting tenders and making tender in construction projects," so as to fully arouse the enthusiasm of various sides to save on investment, control final accounts, shorten construction periods, and generally improve investment effects.

Opening to the outside world is a long-term guideline that our country must firmly insist upon. Concurrently with devoting efforts to increase exports, we should continue to introduce and import the capital funds and advanced technologies and equipment urgently needed in the state's key construction. This is beneficial to easing our country's shortage of capital construction funds and raising our country's technical equipment and management level. But, in the course of introduction, we should overcome the erroneous tendency of one-sidedly seeking for "high, precise, and top-notch" techniques, blind introduction, and redundant introduction. We should reduce the import of or not import at all those raw materials and electrical machinery equipment that can be produced internally and that can satisfy needs for quality and function. In examining, screening, and sanctioning projects, the relevant sides must strictly observe the rules. We must clearly understand that the ultimate objective of introduction is, through digestion, to absorb foreign advanced technology, speed up our economic development, and raise our own capability in self-regeneration. Therefore, in the course of key construction, the planning and capital construction departments at various levels and the relevant units should pay attention to the work of digesting and absorbing the introduced technology, and actively organize the forces from all sides, including scientific research, planning, construction, equipment-making, and supply of raw materials to cooperate in attacking the problems, if any, and thus to provide more advanced technology and advanced equipment for the state's key construction projects.

Third, earnestly do a good job in economic improvement and rectification, keep the investment scale under control, readjust the investment structure, and strive hard to raise the investment effects in key construction.

We should continue to control the investment scale, readjust the investment structure, strengthen administration and management, and raise the effects. This is an important task in the improvement and rectification. In accordance with the State Council's demand, we must continue to make a full-scale clear accounting or liquidation of the projects under construction; in the course of planning arrangements and execution, we should exercise double control over the yearly investment scale and the gross scale of projects under construction, reduce investment on ordinary construction, and devote major



efforts to strengthening investment in agriculture, energy, communications, transport, and important raw materials. We should earnestly carry out the major points of the industrial policy promulgated by the State Council, strictly control the fixing of new projects and the projects newly put into operation, and make a revised clearance and examination of projects that have been approved but are not yet in construction; and we must sternly forbid construction of new halls and buildings, and, in principle, should not permit the resumption of construction on those halls which have been stopped. The purpose of the adoption of the foregoing measures is to have the state's limited funds and material resources truly concentrated on key construction so as to effectively ensure that the work can be promptly completed and put into operation within a rational construction period, and thus to display the investment effects.

It should also be pointed out that key construction itself also has a structural readjustment problem of whether it is productive or nonproductive, and key or ordinary. It also has problems according to whether it is light or important, ordinary or urgent, and first or second. The key industries and trades, and key construction projects should never take for granted that because they belong to the key category they can have all their projects put into construction at once. In planning arrangements, we should line up the construction projects and the individual projects, giving priority to the backbone projects under construction, to projects already in operation and their related coordinating work, and to the key productive engineering projects and the necessary facilities for livelihood. Massive halls and nonproductive construction of too high a standard should be strictly forbidden.

For the sake of strengthening control and raising the investment effects, the State Planning Commission and the State Auditing Bureau have agreed to spend two to three years making a general and overall audit and inspection of the state's key construction projects and other large and medium-sized projects included in the state plan. The projects clearance office of the State Auditing Bureau, State Planning Commission, and the State Council has set up a joint leadership subgroup for auditing and inspecting the capital construction projects, and this year 83 key projects will be subjected to audit and inspection. The problems found in the audit and inspection will be used to formulate measures to strengthen control of key construction projects. The State Planning Commission has decided to make a planning resurvey of the large and medium-sized preparatory projects that were cleared in the initial planning but the construction of which has not yet started. From now on, all large and medium-sized projects reporting the start of construction and asking for inclusion in the state's key construction list should, in their documents, attach a copy of the planning resurvey certificate. The various construction units should organize their forces to make a resurvey of the planning on their own projects and construction. We should thoroughly eradicate the

impure practices of "face" and showing off, and consciously save investment for the state. The various construction units should give priority to raising the management level, strive to lower consumption, actively adopt scientific construction methods, accelerate the rate of construction, improve the quality of the construction work, and lower construction costs.

We should also earnestly liquidate and rectify the phenomena of the random collection of fees and charges from the state key construction projects. The relevant departments of the central government and the people's governments in the various localities should strengthen their leadership, dispel all resistance, and organize their forces to make a wholesale clearance of the various kinds of fees and levies collected by the department or locality from the state's key construction projects. From now on, collection of fees and levies from construction projects should be under unified management and control, and the list of fees and levies and the standard for their collection should be under the unified formulation and announcement by a department designated by the State Council. No organization, group or unit should under any pretext impose levies on manpower, material, and financial power on the construction units of key projects. The construction units themselves have the right to refuse payment of any levies outside of those fixed by the state. The Construction Bank should strengthen its supervision and reject clearance of any payment of fees or levies that violate the state's regulations.

#### **Survey of Development of Village-Level Collective Economy in Fengnan County**

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[Text] The universal implementation of the two-tiered operational system of household-based contracted responsibility with remuneration linked to output has made the village-level status become daily more important. Development of the village-level collective economy and increasing the economic strength of villages have become major points in current rural work and have formed an important content in deepening the rural economic reform. Recently, in this connection, we made a survey of Fengnan County, Hebei Province, and obtained much beneficial enlightenment.

#### **I**

Since 1984, Fengnan County's CPC Committee and government have taken the restoration, development, and enlargement of the village-level collective economy as an important link in rural work and have achieved prominent results by grasping it actively, steadfastly, and with initiative. As of the end of 1989, 453 of the county's 492 villages had formed collective enterprises, with a total of 724 enterprises and an annual output value of

180 million yuan, which was one-fourth of the gross output value of the county's town and township enterprises and one-fifth of the gross value of industrial and agricultural output. The gross accumulation of the village-level economy amounted to 170 million yuan (including fixed assets and circulation funds and the labor accumulation for the current year outside of the various retentions, delivery of profits by the enterprises, and the enterprises' repayment of loans), 200 percent more than before the "big contracting" and more than 400 percent more than in 1984.

There were seven principal channels and means by which Fengnan County developed its collective economy and enlarged the village-level economy:

1. Great development of various types of village-run enterprises. They include industrial enterprises, commercial enterprises, and agricultural enterprises (among which are collectively run orchards, forests, young plant nurseries, grassland, snake ponds, fish ponds, chicken farms, pig farms, grape orchards, and so forth) and service-type collective enterprises organized along with the development of commodity production.

2. Enforcement of overall retentions. This consists principally of retentions at different levels from the 10 industries and trades of rural economy, namely, agriculture, industry, forestry, commerce, fisheries, transportation, building, services, animal husbandry, and subsidiary trade, including compensatory use of land, village-level profits delivered by enterprises, contracting fees on contracting by collective enterprises and individuals, fees for use of collective properties, public welfare enterprise fees paid to villages by personnel working in town and township enterprises; numbering 12 kinds of retention in all.

3. Establishment of the labor accumulated work system. According to their regulations, of the labor force of rural households, each year each person must put in 10 to 15 units of labor, principally for farmland water conservancy construction, engineering work of an opening up nature, and public welfare enterprises such as tree planting, afforestation, and road and bridge building. Those households that do not put in any work units may pay money instead or use vehicles or other material objects to replace actual work, or they may hire other people to work for them instead. Input into the retentions is based on the number of work units, entered into the accounts, and publicly announced. Accumulated work unit funds collected by villages without any engineering projects will be added to the public accumulation funds.

4. Grasping well the clearing of financial affairs, collection of outstanding accounts, depreciation work on collective fixed assets, and gathering together scattered and dispersed funds.

5. Firm insistence on the system of collecting fees for services rendered. Specialized service organs in towns, townships, and villages collect appropriate service fees

when rendering services to rural households before, during, and after production.

6. Encouraging the appropriate development of individual, jointly run, private economy, and shareholding economy. The villages yearly collect from them, according to their business volume, overall fees of 1-2 percent to serve as the village public welfare enterprise development funds.

7. Using well the rural development funds, town and township enterprise development funds, cooperative funds, specialized projects development funds, and low-interest rate loans, subsidies, and so forth, to support the collective economy.

Over the years, cadres at various levels in Fengnan County, through grasping the work to develop the village-level collective economy, have obtained the required tempering and have accumulated certain experiences. Their principal methods of work were:

First, their status was clear and clarified and they firmly insisted on grasping their jobs constantly and tirelessly. In 1984, the Fengnan County party committee, when analyzing the situation of the town and township enterprises, found that, among the "four wheels" of the township, village, jointly run, and individual enterprises, the township-run enterprises, jointly run enterprises, and individual economy all had developed rapidly, but the development of village-run enterprises had lagged behind, even to the point of constantly shrinking. Before the "great contracting," the strength of the county's village-run collective economy had amounted to more than 87 million yuan, but at the end of 1984 not only was there no increase, there was a loss of 40 million yuan; over 20 million yuan of funds due from the sale of a portion of the collective assets could not be collected, and 60 percent of the village collective accumulation funds showed deficits. Under such circumstances, the distressed households became helpless, nothing could be done on the rural social welfare and public welfare enterprises, farmland capital construction could not be organized, and a strained relationship existed between the cadres and the masses. The various contradictions arising from this serious "illness" of the village-level collective economy drew deep reaction and high priority from the county committee leadership. Among the cadres of the entire county, discussions were started on whether or not the village-run collective economy should be developed. On the basis of a unified understanding, the county committee advocated the slogan of "running all four wheels with the village wheel being a 'must,'" and formulated "views on developing the rural collective economy" and measures "on solving the problem of 'blank villages' in a village-run collective economy." Concurrently, they set up a number of typical villages in the development of collective economy and typical branch organs and model cadres departments to lead the masses to common well-being. All this was propagated and given commendation with great fanfare. Since 1988, under the new situation of the economic

improvement and rectification, the county committee, on the basis of investigation, research, and summing up of experiences, further formulated and expressed "views on developing and enlarging the collective economy and strengthening rural socialized services." They made clear their guiding thought and target, pointed out the line of thought and means to develop in an overall manner and along many channels, and also perfected the relevant policies and measures.

Second, opening up the line of thought and continuously broadening the channels. At the start of the development, they resorted to various ways and means to develop village-run industrial enterprises, beginning with a number of industrial enterprises such as steel refining, papermaking, and pig-bristle processing, making them backbone industrial enterprises. Based on the development of market changes, the development target of concentrating on industrial enterprises was shifted to commerce, the service trade, and to utilization of local resources, such as using seawater and fresh water in aquatic breeding and in processing agricultural sideline products. Since the economic improvement and rectification, the state's tightening of the money market has brought along difficulties for development of the industry in the towns and townships. Against this situation, they paid attention to Fengnan's other strong points such as plentiful barren land and some 700,000 mu of water in the form of ponds, river banks, ditches, and so forth; made use of the state's slanting policy toward agriculture; and actively organized agricultural enterprises in various forms and shapes. Thus, the road of developing the rural collective economy was increasingly broadened.

Third, supporting all sides, rendering good services and performing more concrete jobs. From beginning to end, the county committee has taken the rendering of good services as an important measure in promoting the rural collective economy's development. They organized forces from all sides to do down-to-earth work for the grassroots levels. Opening up various channels, and for the sake of consolidating and developing the enterprises, they successively raised over 80 million yuan and kept the economy from going downhill and stopping its input. Among their other measures were the county's directly subordinate departments doing jobs in township contracting, village contracting and project contracting, and the dispatch of cadres not in productive pursuits to take up jobs in distressed and poor villages and "blank-point" villages. Helping the development of rural collective economy. In recent years, 52 directly subordinate units of the county have done direct contracting, and some 463 county and township cadres have gone to the grassroots level and helped 72 villages to develop 77 various kinds of enterprises. The towns and townships likewise adopted various measures, such as the big guiding the small, the old leading the new, and the rich leading the poor, to help the development of the village-level economy.

Fourth and last, strengthening management and stopping "leaks and loopholes." To ensure the collective economy's healthy development, and increase the collective accumulations, they have improved and perfected their various systems; strengthened control over the various categories of village-run enterprises regarding the quality of their products, production costs, operations, and finances; and sought effects from management. Based on the actual capacities of enterprises and the masses, the various kinds of retention targets of enterprises and their upward-delivery targets were readjusted. All past uses of collective properties without compensation or at a low rate of compensation, low-compensatory contracting of land, and noncompensatory use of beaches, ponds, and rice fields for the development of production were subjected to use with due compensation. Upward-delivery targets of enterprises and individuals that had been too high were appropriately lowered, and those that were too low were appropriately raised. To prevent the missing, leakage, and loss of accumulation funds, the whole county universally adopted the measure of having towns and townships take care of village-level funds, with the relevant departments making periodic inspection and clearance and the financial and accounting personnel periodically announcing to the masses the accounts on receipts and expenditures and conditions of funds usage.

## II

Following the enlargement of the village-level collective economy's development, blooming life and vitality were injected into the grassroots-level work in Fengnan County's rural areas, bringing many new changes to the county's rural social economy:

—Stabilizing the cadre corps and raising the prestige of party organs. Investigations have revealed that, in villages where collective economy had no substantial power or strength, the cadres not only could not help the masses to solve their problems, but also constantly requested money from the masses. According to investigations made in Xige, Wangyi, Anzhong, and Hsitai villages, in the past several years a levy of about 60-100 yuan per person was made on the masses for expenses on education, cadre subsidies, birth control, and relief of the distressed. Collecting money but doing no work has lowered the party's prestige, is resented by the people, and makes relations between cadres and the masses become tense.

In these villages there were instances of collusion between upper- and lower-level cadres making unfair levies on the villagers. The villagers complained of the cadres as follows: "When visiting us, they would say a few good words upon entering, speak words hard to hear or bear after sitting down, and utter discomforting words upon departing. When they talked to their superiors, they would grumble and complain." In fact, in these villages the upper-level cadres did not work each year on the economy and cultural or spiritual construction. Instead, they wasted their time on changing their ranks,

even several times a year. Conversely, in those villages with relatively strong economic strength, the cadres' ranks were stable and the party's various kinds of rural work were developed. Take for example the case of Sugezhuang Township. Since the "great contracting," it has devoted great efforts to managing village-run enterprises. The party members fully display a leading role in various kinds of work. Those who are physically able all work in the village-run enterprises, none of them take part in sideline businesses. There were only three enterprises in its 12 villages in 1980, but it has increased to 115 now, with a gross output value of over 50 million yuan, and per capita net income averages nearly 1,000 yuan. The collective economic strength has increased continuously. Funds needed by public welfare enterprises are borne by the collectives. Jobs done for the masses have been increased and levies made on the public are rare. As a result, the cadres' words and deeds receive the masses' support and welcome, and the various kinds of work done are rich in color and substance. Now, in Fengnan County rural areas, over 50 percent of the party branch organs belong to the first-grade or category and none are in the fourth-grade. Basically, there are no cases of cadres abandoning their jobs when they meet difficult problems as they did in past years. Rather, a large number of progressive party organs and a contingent of model cadres have appeared who work hard, make selfless contributions, and lead the masses to common well-being.

—Promoting the development of public welfare enterprises and augmenting the masses' coagulating and concentrating power on going the socialist road. Through reliance on collective economy, Fengnan County was the first in the province to have towns and townships connected by asphalt roads and, by the villages raising needed funds, nearly 50 percent of the villages were connected by roads built of small stones. To promote educational enterprises in recent years, the village collectives alone successively raised over 15 million yuan. In all villages enjoying the development of the collective economy, each household has a tap water supply, and, in some villages, a stove has been installed in each household. Some of the villages have enforced the subsidy funds system for the old and retirement funds for staff members and workers of village-run enterprises. Distressed and poor households and aged widows and widowers living alone have all been well-attended to, while many village-run enterprises give preference and priority to members of distressed households when hiring personnel. The collective economy has thus benefited and the masses and people directly benefited have deeply felt the superior character of the socialist system and become all the more determined to go the socialist road.

—Strengthening the rural socialized service system and improving and perfecting the two-tiered operational structure. As in other places, Fengnan County's contracted responsibility system on the household basis with remuneration linked to output originally had its

troubles. Although the central authorities had placed the emphasis on two-tiered operation, because collective economy had been dissected at the time, with its properties wholly divided and could not promptly and effectively provide services to the public, existing only in name but actually disappearing from the scene, operation was left to the rural household alone. But with the enlargement and development of the village-level collective economy, the collective's "unified" capacity and service functions have been effectively strengthened and double-layer operation has become increasingly perfected. According to statistics, the county's towns, townships, and villages have formed 1,123 service organizations of various kinds, village collectives have purchased over 900 pieces of large farming machines, and more than 80 percent of the villages have effected the "five unifications," which included farming, selection of good seeds, irrigation, pest control, and transportation. Actual practice in Fengnan has shown that, without the backing of collective economic strength, relying on the service structure alone to grasp servicing, then no matter how well the service structure has been organized it is not at all certain that really good services can be rendered. If we proceed from developing the collective economy and make collective economy organize and possess the actual strength to render services to the peasants, then we can continuously augment the rural socialized service structure and perfect the two-tiered operation system.

—Increasing the input into agriculture and promoting grain production. Since 1984, the county's village-level collective economy has spent 35 million yuan on farmland capital construction and opening up work in agriculture. The number of labor accumulation work units of village collective organs was over 9 million, and, with the support and cooperation of the county, towns, and townships, more than 50 relatively large water conservancy projects have been completed, 980 motor-pumped wells have been added, 150,000 mu of rice fields have been developed and there has been a transformation of farmland of medium- and low-grade yield. The increase in input has facilitated the yearly steady growth of agriculture, particularly grain production. In 1989, the county's grain production amounted to 252 million kilograms. This was the highest historical record in year of big drought and showed an increase of 95 million kilograms compared with 1984.

### III

Fengnan County's actual practice in developing and enlarging the village-level collective economy has given us certain beneficial enlightenment.

1. Development of village-level collective economy requires the leadership at various levels to have a spirit of determination and the ability to follow up. At present, so far as most areas are concerned, the village-level collective economy offers the greatest difficulty in the



development of the rural economy. The difficulty lies in the fact that the practice of "everybody eating from the same big pot," which for many years had produced very low effects, has distorted people's concept of a collective economy. Many people have mixed together collective economy itself with its drawbacks in the course of past development and have invisibly generated a sort of prejudice, and even an opposing psychology against it. Before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, very few of Fengnan County's village-run enterprises had produced high effects. Poor management, "missing, leaked, and lost" funds, and corruption of certain cadres have led people to believe that collective enterprises are the breeding places of parasites and lazy people. The system of household-based contracted responsibility with remuneration linked to output system has greatly aroused the masses enthusiasm and promoted the growth of the rural productive forces. Under such a situation, to advocate the development of village-level collective economy may make the masses misunderstand it to be "returning to the big mess" and going back to the old road, and create opposition. So far as the rural cadres are concerned, the quick or slow development of the village collective economy is not closely related to their self-interests (it cannot be compulsorily linked to their salaries and wages) and naturally the internal driving force is thus lacking. Fengnan County's experiences have shown that despite this difficulty and that, if only the county CPC Committee and government can take pushing the "village wheel" in motion as an enterprise to grasp, and each and every session of leadership continues to go along without seeking quick results or frequently changing plans, the "village wheel" can easily be put in motion. Since 1984, there have been two sessions of leadership of the Fengnan County party committee and government during which the county party committee's principal leadership changed four times, but the changes in the constituents of the leadership team have not caused the "village wheel" to waver or stop moving. On the foundation set up by the preceding leadership, the new leadership has always, and with great warmth, summed up, filled in, and perfected the policy on developing the village-run collective economy and made it develop even more rapidly.

2. It is necessary to install a good village-level team; that is to say, there must be a strong and forceful party branch organ and particularly a good "team leader." In developing village-level collective economy, the county, towns, and townships principally determine the policy; perform well the service jobs; play the external role of guiding, supporting, and facilitating; and bear a large amount of organizational work, but the decisive role is played by this internal factor of the village cadres. On this point, the county party committee and government have a full understanding. Over these years they have firmly insisted on proceeding from reality and grasping the building of teams. Each year they have resorted to rotating training in county and town party schools, convening meetings in lieu of training and conducting

specialized lectures in the education of cadres at the grassroots level, and have also given short-term training to secretaries of village party branch organs and village committee heads. In the past two years, 220 training classes of various kinds have been held, 80,000 man-hours of education of grassroots cadres have been conducted; and over 240 good party members who were capable, warmhearted, and willing to lead the masses to common well-being have been put into village-level leadership teams. Many facts have shown that the collective economy is comparatively brisk and developed in villages with strong teams in party branch organs. At the end of 1988, Fengnan County still had 135 so-called "blank-point villages" which did not have any collective enterprise, but within a year's time, after prompt readjustment of the village-level teams, 96 of these villages have established enterprises, and the collectives have increased their income by over 2 million yuan.

3. Duly assess the time and situation and use the policy well. This is to say: It is necessary to watch the local situation and also the situation of the whole country, correctly follow the guiding work of the central government and upper-level policies and tightly grasp the opportunity for development. If the great development of village-level collective economy were advocated at the start of the household-based contracted responsibility with remuneration linked to output system or, development of agricultural enterprises were advocated at the start of the development of town and township enterprises, to enforce overall retention or to stress labor accumulation, then obviously it would not be workable because at that time these were not the principal contradictions, the time element was not ripe, and the cadres' and masses' thought and understanding could not yet follow up. Only about 1984, at a time of the increasing prominence of the various contradictions generated by the weakness of the "union" functions of the two-tiered operation structure, could the people accept the views of developing village-level collective economy. What Fengnan did was precisely this. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, considering the whole country's situation and the central government's policy, they mobilized the masses to greatly develop commodity economy and run first-rate town and township enterprises. At a time when town- and township-run enterprises occupied an important position and the development of village-level economy relatively lagged, they promptly put the question of enlarging the strength of village-level collective economy on the daily agenda. The county party committee and government successively formulated policies on encouraging the development of village-level collective economy, on preventing the overly large delivery to the villages of the enterprises' aftertax profits or the overly large distribution to consumption, and on retention and so forth, all of which have played a good role in preventing the evil practices of killing the hen for its eggs or draining the pond for its fish.

4. It is necessary to suit the measures to local condition; fully utilize the locality's strong points in resources, production, operating conditions; to integrate domestic and foreign, large and small, and agriculture and industry; and to give priority and devote major efforts to developing whatever is suitable for development. Fengnan neighbors Tangshan in the north, Beijing in the west, and Tianjin and Buhai in the south, and possesses relatively many strong points on various sides. But the conditions of its various villages are different. Prior to 1988, the country party committee and government had not fully understood this point and concentrated their thoughts on developing industrial enterprises. In general, the situation was not poor, but in localities closed to outside information and undeveloped in commodity economy, the enterprises did not fare well. Subsequently, after they had opened up their thinking and called for fighting the battles of suiting the measures to each village, engaging in various kinds of pursuits, and each fighting according to its own strong points, enterprises like farms, grazinglands, tree farms, orchards, warehouses, fish farms, shrimp farms, refrigeration plants, various kinds of processing plants, as well as transport and service units have taken the opportunity and grown. For example, Xibahu Village, Daxinzhuang Township, had a population of 1,000 on its 3,000 mu of land, half was barren and salted land, and it was well known as a distressed village. In the past, it frequently failed to develop industrial enterprises. Subsequently, it undertook opening up the sandy and barren land, made loans, and raised funds to set up 1,000 mu of farmland, 100 mu of vineyards, chicken farms, fishery ponds, and six agricultural enterprises, all of which were generally able to recover their investments within the same year. In 1989, the village's collective net income was 300,000 yuan and the peasants' per capita income was 800 yuan. In Fengnan there are more than 170 villages of this kind that have relied on various kinds of agricultural enterprises to enable the collective economy to regain its vitality. According to statistics, in 1989 the 259 first-grade village-run agricultural enterprises reaped a gross income of 20 million yuan and a net income of 6 million yuan.

There is also a rather important reason why Fengnan County's village-level collective economy has gone a rather lively road, and that is that in grasping this center of economic work, the leadership did comprehensive planning and never acted rashly or went to extremes. While grasping the village-level collective economy, they never forsook or loosened up on other collective enterprises, nor have they taken lightly or ignored individual economy or private economy, but from beginning to end they encouraged them to boldly develop according to the state's policy. The county's individual and private economies started at the same time as the collective enterprises. By 1989, their gross output value had approached that of the village collective enterprises, amounting to 160 million yuan, thus supplementing well and facilitating the rural collective economy.

### Understanding Subjectivity in a Scientific Way—Also Appraising the Tendency of 'Subjectification' in the Study of Subjectivity

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[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, using the opportunity to reflect on the lessons of the Great Cultural Revolution, a period when people's creativity was suppressed and subjective activities were stifled and, on the basis of summing up the characteristics of the development of the new technological revolution and summing up the experiences of socialist construction, at the same time as exploring reform and opening up, our country's theory workers have strengthened their exploration of the issues of the subject and subjectivity, creating a "craze for subjectivity" in philosophical research. The major theoretical significance and practical value of this research cannot be denied. However, in the same way, we cannot ignore unhealthy trends that have appeared in research into subjectivity. The most important of these include exaggerating and playing up the importance of subjectivity, raising this to the level of a thing-in-itself and an essence, highly praising "subjectivity" that excludes objectivity, attempting to establish a "subjectivist philosophy" which differs from Marxist philosophy, and so on. I believe that only by understanding subjectivity in a scientific way and overcoming mistaken tendencies in the study of subjectivity will we be able to guarantee the healthy development of Marxist philosophy.

### I. The Unity Between Subjectivity and Objectivity Is a Basic Principle of Marxist Philosophy

Some people claim that the process of formation and development of Marxist philosophy, that is, the succession from Marx to Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong, has been a gradual process by which "subjectivity has been lost." They also claim that the ontology, epistemology, and historical viewpoint of Marxist philosophy all deviate from the principle of subjectivity, which conforms with the progress of mankind, and thus have evolved into a mechanical materialism, the theory of reflection based on direct perception, and the theory of historical fatalism. This wanton denunciation and attack flies in the face of the history of the development of Marxist philosophy during the last 100 years and more and cannot be tolerated.

The so-called principle of subjectivity refers to a principle by which the dynamism of the subject and its position in practice and in cognitive activities are recognized and stressed. The stress placed on subjectivity is an obvious characteristic by which the materialism of Marxist philosophy differs from old materialism and is also an important aspect of the basic principles of Marxist philosophy. The establishment of Marxist philosophy had, as a precondition, the development of the

principles of subjectivity on a materialist base. The question of subjectivity has been a major topic in modern Western philosophical research. Philosophers proceed from different ontological preconditions and thus their understandings of the question of subjectivity differ greatly. The 17th-century English philosopher, Francis Bacon, was the first to stress, on a materialist basis, man's subjectivity and dynamic role. However, in its subsequent development, this materialism began to change and become one-sided. The old materialist philosophers, including Feuerbach, stressed the restrictions imposed on man by the natural world and overlooked man's subjective dynamism. On the other side, the idealists were developing the dynamic aspect. The classical German philosophers carried out systematic research into the question of subjectivity and, from Kant to Fichte to Hegel, they all stressed and gave prominence to the principle of subjectivity. However, they developed this principle in an abstract and idealist way. Marx, in "the first document to include the brilliant sprouts of a new world view"—*Theses on Feuerbach*—incisively summed up the experiences and lessons of the course of development of European philosophical thought. "The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism—that of Feuerbach included—is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the *object* or of *contemplation*, but not as *human sensuousness, activity, practice*, not subjectively."<sup>1</sup> This indicated a clear direction for further developing philosophy. It can be said that the crux of the revolutionary change effected by Marx on the philosophical level was that he proposed the principle of subjectivity on the basis of practice and thereby overcame the idealist principle of subjectivity, which denied the objective base.

The founders of Marxism and their successors, through summing up practical experience and scientific achievements, specifically elaborated on the contents, characteristics, and forms of subjectivity. In *The Dialectics of Nature*, a work which combined natural science with philosophy, Engels made an overall comparison of man and other animals and came to the conclusion that "the animal merely *uses* external nature and brings about changes in it simply by his presence; man *masters* it by making his changes serve his ends. This is the final, essential distinction between man and other animals and once again it is labor that brings about this distinction."<sup>2</sup> This was a penetrating summation and scientific exposition of the essential characteristics of the subject and subjectivity. Under the new historical conditions of socialist construction, Lenin noted: "It is not the gods who make pots"—this is a truth that the workers and peasants must have drilled into their minds. They must understand that the whole thing now is *practical work*."<sup>3</sup> This was a high appraisal of the subjectivity of the people and especially of the masses. While leading the socialist construction of the Soviet Union, although Stalin made the mistake of "expanding class struggle," he never denied the strength and role of the subject. On the contrary, he always heavily stressed "the great organizational and transformational role of new ideas, new

theories, new political viewpoints, and new political apparatus."<sup>4</sup> In his great military and philosophical work *On Protracted War*, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that everything has to be done by man. Only by drawing in ideas, logic, and opinions, and putting forward plans, principles, policies, strategies, and tactics, will it be possible to do things well. "Ideas and so on are subjective things, while deeds and actions are the subjective transformed into the objective. Both represent the dynamic role peculiar to human beings." "All ideas based on and corresponding to objective facts are correct ideas and all deeds and actions based on correct ideas are correct actions. We must give full scope to these ideas and actions, to this dynamic role."<sup>5</sup> This clearly summed up the content of subjective, conscious dynamism as the basic aspect of thought and action. It also incisively manifested the inseparable relationship between conscious dynamism and objective things and their patterns. It can be seen that subjectivity has not been "lost" in the course of development of Marxist philosophy. Rather, it has been developed and expanded. Some persons who study the question of subjectivity close their eyes and do not look at the facts and their prejudices differ even further from the truth than does ignorance.

If we look at the system of Marxist philosophy, we see that it has a scientific theory of subjectivity as an important component. The principle of subjectivity based on practice runs through all component parts of Marxist philosophy. At the same time that it stresses the spirit of material determinism and that the unity of the world lies in its material nature, the ontology of Marxist philosophy also recognizes the reactive role of the mind on matter. It fully recognizes the dynamic role of man whereby, on the basis of objective patterns, he transforms the world and recognizes the existence and continual development of "humanized nature." The epistemological theory of Marxist philosophy, besides stressing that cognition is a reflection of reality, particularly stresses the role of man's practical actions in the process of cognition. It describes the process of cognition as one whereby the subject dynamically affects the object and whereby, through abstract thought processes, these signals reflect the material. The historical viewpoint in Marxist philosophy, besides stressing that social existence determines social consciousness and the objective inevitability of historical development, especially stresses the reactive role of social consciousness on social existence, that the masses are the creators of history and that, under fixed productive forces, people can consciously promote social progress. It can be seen that stressing the principle of subjectivity based on practice is an important characteristic of Marxist philosophy. Divorced from this, it is impossible to establish a dialectical materialist, scientific system of theory.

The subjectivity in Marxist philosophy is established on the basis of the principle of objectivity. What is meant by the principle of objectivity is the principle that recognizes and stresses the essential position of objective reality and its restricting role on the subject.

This is a basic principle to which all materialist philosophy must adhere and is an important principle of Marxist philosophy. It is only Marxist philosophy that has been able to really and fully implement the principle of objectivity and expel idealism from the social history sphere. Marxist philosophy objectivity includes three levels of meaning: 1) Objectivity in the ontological sense, meaning that objective reality has an independent existence that does not rely on man's consciousness. Objective existence has different manifestations in different forms of material movement. The modern scientific achievements in the theory of relativity and in quantum physics have brought development to man's objective understanding but they do not and cannot negate objectivity in the ontological sense. 2) Objectivity in the epistemological sense, referring mainly to the objectivity of the target of cognition and the objective truth of the elements of cognition. Seeking agreement between cognition and the objective target is the basic principle of mankind's cognitive activities. The phenomenon of microscopic cognition has not heralded the "outdating" of the principle of objectivity. It just means that seeking conformity between man's cognition and the microscopic targets requires more subjective conditions and subjective efforts. 3) Objectivity in the sense of historical viewpoint, meaning that social development is a natural historical process with an objective inevitability independent of man's will. A strengthening of subjective capabilities can allow a more accurate understanding of the patterns and conscious utilization of the patterns. It does not mean that the historical inevitability of historical development has been discarded. These three levels of meaning are mutually linked and also differ from each other, but all are extremely important to Marxist philosophy.

The principle of subjectivity as understood in Marxist philosophy not only does not exclude the principle of objectivity, but forms an innate and inseparable unity with it. The basis of unity is social practice. Scientifically explaining the dialectical unity between subjectivity and objectivity is a great contribution which Marxist philosophy has made to mankind. Today, there are some people who place subjectivity and objectivity in diametrically opposite positions and claim that, "at present, our country's philosophical circles are discussing the nature of cognition. The key question is the question of the relationship between the subjectivity and objectivity of cognition. That is to say, should modern epistemology take objectivity or subjectivity as its principle?" This demonstrates well the metaphysical modes of thought criticized by Engels, where there is absolute antagonism and where "yes is yes and no is no and all else is a lie." If one follows such modes of thought when conducting philosophical research, one will only make mistakes and get sidetracked. Subjectivity and objectivity form a deep-going contradiction and the development of Marxist philosophy must seek a way out of this contradiction. In Marxist philosophical research, we must guard against advocating a principle of objectivity that

has as a precondition the sacrifice of the principle of subjectivity, because this will lead to mechanical materialism. We must also guard against advocating a principle of subjectivity that has discarded the principle of objectivity as a precondition, because we would thereby move toward idealism. Only by firmly upholding the principle of the unity between subjectivity and objectivity will we be able to guarantee the nature of Marxist philosophy as a scientific world view and methodology.

The major root of the two mistaken tendencies in research on the question of subjectivity lies on the theoretical level. The problem is the two different philosophical concepts of "subjectivity" [zhu ti xing 0031 7555 1840] and "subjectivism" [zhu guan xing 0031 6034 1840]. People have either equated "subjectivity" with "subjectivism" and thereby avoided talking about "subjectivity," or else, by equating "subjectivity" and "subjectivism," have started to laud "subjectivism." In order to understand subjectivity in a scientific way, the key, in epistemological terms, is to clarify the links and differences between it and subjectivism. The "subject" and the "subjective" have different meanings. The subject has to be seen in relation to the object and refers to a person engaged in certain cognitive and practical activities. Only if the person establishes an object (that is, a target of cognition or transformation) in this activity, does the person become a subject. The subjective has to be seen in relation to the objective and refers to the mind and the spirit of the subject. Any subject (person) contains in itself subjective elements (feelings, concepts, thought modes) and objective elements (the flesh, natural forces, social nature). Marx pointed out that "the subjective aspect of the subject" is "the antithesis of matter"<sup>6</sup> Thus, of course, there is the objective aspect of the subject, which is the aspect consistent with matter; this includes the objective needs of the subject and the objective content of the subject's cognition. Clearly, the scope of the subject is broader than the scope of the subjective. The subjective is only a part, not the whole, of the subject and, while the subject includes the subjective, it cannot be summed up as the subjective. The subject itself has an objective nature. Stressing the subject is not equivalent to only stressing the subjective. Rather, it is stressing the unity of the subjective and the objective. There is an even greater essential difference between "subjectivity" and "subjectiveness." So-called subjectivity refers to the qualitative stipulation of man as the subject. Specifically, it is a conscious dynamism developed in the mutual effects that the subject and object have on each other, and it includes conscious decisions, self-decided action, initiative, and creativity. So-called subjectivism is opposite to objectivity. Generally it refers to how, when thought reflects existence, some specific forms and characteristics are always manifested which are not part of the object itself, including the abstracting and isolating aspects of feelings, ideas, and concepts. Subjectivism is a specific attribute of man's thought. Man is not equivalent to thought and, of course, subjectivism is not equivalent to subjectivity. Objectivity is a characteristic innate in all existence, which is the target of thought. Man himself, as the



subject, can be transformed into the object and become the target of thought. Thus, man in himself has an objective nature. In philosophical epistemology, subjectivism is the basic characteristic of idealist epistemology. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "So-called subjectivism means that one does not know how to objectively observe a question, that is, does not know how to use a materialist viewpoint in looking at questions."<sup>7</sup> It is extremely clear that subjectivity is a concept with wide meaning and people can make an idealist explanation of it or a materialist explanation of it. That is to say, under the banner of "subjectivity," there exists a struggle between the two philosophical lines of materialism and idealism. Theory and practice both show that it is possible to uphold and develop Marxist philosophical theory only by understanding and studying subjectivity in a scientific way.

## II. Philosophical Research on Subjectivity Must Not Move Toward Idealist "Subjectification"

The question of subjectivity is a major topic in Marxist philosophical research. Its major elements include the structure of the subject (the capacities, the thought modes, and the activity modes of the subject); the special characteristics of the subject (conscious dynamism); and the relationship between the subject and the object. Because of a biased understanding of the question of subjectivity, some of our philosophical textbooks in the past did not thoroughly implement the principle of unity between objectivity and subjectivity and we did not conduct thorough study into the question of subjectivity. This affected the vitality and vigor of Marxist philosophy. For a very long period, the question of subjectivity was a "forbidden area" or a "dangerous zone" in philosophical research, and anyone who spoke on the subject or on subjectivity was suspected of engaging in subjectivism and idealism. This is a deep-going lesson. During the "subjectivity craze" that erupted in recent years, a new sphere has been opened up in Marxist philosophical research, there has been deep exploration of the position and role of practice and its innate structure and elements, and there has been exploration of major topics such as the needs, the aims, and the cognition of the subject, the conscious dynamism of the subject, and the innate mechanism it brings into play. New ingredients have also been used to enrich the theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This research has, to a certain degree, reflected modern 20th-century science and contemporary social reform tides and has also provided a philosophical base for our socialist construction and reform practice. This is a pleasing phenomenon and we cannot deny its positive role. However, it is worth noting that, under the influence of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization, some people have changed the study of subjectivity into lauding subjectivism, denied the objectivity of the external world, negated Marxist philosophy, and advocated idealism. This has been manifested in philosophical ontology, epistemology, and the viewpoint of history.

1. On the ontological level, the "ontology of practice" has been widely used to replace material ontology. Some scholars hold that material ontology is an old materialist theory which overlooks the position and role of the subject. It is characterized by being mechanical and directly perceived. They say that the world of nature in the present world is tightly linked together with man, the subject, and man's activities and thus Marxist philosophical ontology should be the "ontology of practice." That is, we should recognize practice as the basis of all existence. This view is untenable.

In philosophy, the thing-in-itself refers to a unitary, basic, universal existence, a premise which cannot be further reduced. In the history of the development of philosophy, materialist ontology has had different theoretical forms. The ontology of ancient materialist philosophy was generally concrete material ontology, and it took concretely existing things as the building blocks that form everything in the world. Modern materialist ontology is natural ontology in the narrow sense and this takes nature in the narrow sense as the thing-in-itself. The ontology of dialectical materialism is materialist monism. It holds that the material, that which objectively exists, is the thing-in-itself, and that the world is unified in its being matter. This matter includes the two levels of natural matter and social matter, natural nature and humanized nature. The latter is the product of man's practical activities, and the former existed prior to human society. Affirming the preexistence of the external natural world is an idea forming a constant thread through Marxism. It is a common base for all materialist philosophers, and is, of course, also the base of Marxist philosophy. The difference lies in that old materialism saw the natural world, which has a preexisting position, as excluding man, and it ignored the dynamic role of man on the natural world. However, Marxist philosophy holds that, after the emergence of human society, the natural world, which has a preexisting position, has been affected increasingly by man's materialized labor and has been marked with the stamp of the subject. Thus, the scope of "humanized nature" has continually expanded following the development of social practice.

Practice is the activity by which the subject, in a targeted and conscious way, transforms the objective world. It is the unity of the subject and the object. The thing-in-itself is a concept which, in the relationship between thought and being, and between the spiritual and the material, reveals the universal nature of the world, which constitutes the target of cognition. It is seen as primary, basic existence. Although practice includes the two aspects of subject and object, it cannot be considered primary, basic existence. Before the appearance of mankind, there was neither subject nor practical activities, yet the natural world existed. How can we see practice as the thing-in-itself? The "humanized nature" spoken of by Marx refers to how the subject became separated from the object and was unwilling to remain a slave to the natural world. Rather, he wanted to use his own practical

activities to influence the natural world and actively transform the natural world. However, this influence was always a unity between the limited and the unlimited and could not attain absolutely unlimited scope. Further, if there were no natural world as a base, there would be no way for this influencing role to occur. Even in the social sphere, practice cannot become the thing-in-itself. From the social matter created in practice, "humanized nature," we cannot infer that practice is the origin of things and that if there were no practice, the world would not exist. Marx said, "Man has never created matter itself and he cannot even create any productive capacity if matter had not existed beforehand."<sup>8</sup> On the one hand, the external world is where man obtains materials to produce his own products and, if the sensory, external world did not exist, man could create nothing. On the other hand, in his labor to transform material forms, man must rely on assistance from natural forces. Labor cannot have a "supranatural creative capacity."

The "ontology of practice" is essentially a "process of practice." Although it "tries" (?) [as published] to propagate the great role of activities of subjective practice, course it slides toward idealism because it exaggerates this role without limit, and makes practice an absolute which is divorced from matter. Only by adhering to materialist ontology is it possible to draw a clear line between it and the various types of idealism. This is the first thing we must get very clear when we are studying subjectivity.

2. In the epistemological sphere, they mainly use the "theory of choice" or "theory of construction" to replace the dialectical materialist theory of reflection. Some scholars hold that the epistemology elaborated by Lenin is a mechanical materialist theory of reflection and that it only stresses the objective existence of the actual targets and overlooks the dynamic role of the subject. Thus, they say that it cannot accord with the development of modern scientific cognition. They hold that Marxist epistemology should be an ontology of the subject, where the creativity of the cognitive subject is fully stressed. This is the "theory of choice" or "theory of construction." This idea is likewise without basis.

First, Lenin's theory of reflection is a dynamic theory of reflection, completely different from a mechanical materialist theory of reflection. Cognition is a reflection in the mind of an objective reality. This is the basis of all general materialism. Old materialism and dialectical materialism both recognize this point. Marxist epistemology, which Lenin elaborated upon and developed, of course contained the principle of the materialist theory of reflection. Lenin proceeded from the principle of the material unity of the world in explaining that the contents of cognition come from the external world. The relationship between subject and object is a relationship between reflection and that being reflected. Without something to be reflected, there can be no reflection. He held that feelings and consciousness are images of the external world, and he held that the objective reality,

that which is reflected and is the source of cognition, exists independently of the subject that is reflecting it. However, Lenin did not stop there. Rather, on the basis of inheriting and upholding the principle of the materialist theory of reflection, he summed up the new achievements in man's understanding, summed up the new results in the natural sciences, and expounded upon and developed the dialectical materialist dynamic theory of reflection. On the one hand, Lenin's epistemology had practice as its base. He clearly pointed out that the "standpoint of life, of practice, should be first and fundamental in the theory of knowledge."<sup>9</sup> Lenin not only carried forward Marx and Engel's viewpoint of practice in an overall way, but also creatively developed it in many respects. On the other hand, Lenin put great stress on the dynamic role of the subject in cognitive activities. He used materialist dialectics in analyzing mankind's process of cognitive development and in analyzing the process of mutual transformation between the subject and the object and, from the macro level, described and summed up the dialectical pattern by which man's cognition moves away from relative truth and becomes daily closer to absolute truth. He especially stressed the role of the thought activities of the subject in the process of cognition and held, with respect to the process of cognition, "from living perception to abstract thought and from this to practice, such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality."<sup>10</sup> This course by which the subject, through a series of abstract processes, masters the nature and the patterns of the object, also brings into play the needs, ideals, aims, knowledge, and forms of reflection of the subject. Thereby, the subject engages in transformation of the perceptual materials and processes them through logic. The subject sublates the perceptual materials and causes them to reveal their essence through concepts. Lenin also pointed out that "man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world but also creates it."<sup>11</sup> That is to say, the subject's reflection of the object is active and dynamic. The world does not satisfy man and thus man has decided to transform the world through his own actions. In accordance with the patterns of the object and the needs and aims of the subject, man must first create corresponding "concepts" in his mind and, after that, through practical activities, realize this "conceptual model."

Second, dialectical materialist epistemology advocates the unity of reflection and creation, but creation certainly cannot be divorced from the objective base. Creation is an essential determination of the subject; and the subject, in its reflection of the object, inevitably has a dynamic creativity. It is the "choice" or "construction" in the cognitive process that manifests this creativity and this is an important element included in the activity of reflection. People's cognition of objective things is not blind but, rather, is selective. People choose targets of cognition in accordance with their own needs and this is an important manifestation of the subjectivity of cognition. Choice is intimately contained within the dynamic theory of reflection. However, we certainly must not sum

up cognition as choice and use this to exclude reflection, or even say that the "theory of choice" is the modern form of materialist epistemology, succeeding the theory of practice in the theory of reflection. The cognition of the object by the subject cannot just stop at the choice of the object and its information output. More important is the reception of the information, its processing, and the formation and transformation of concepts. Further, choice is conditional and a person cannot choose a target in accordance with his subjective wishes. Rather, the choice has to be made within the scope allowed by objective conditions. The process by which the subject reflects the object is, at the same time, a process by which the object is "constructed" in concepts. This construction in cognition is not an activity external to reflection but is an element and a characteristic necessary to the high-level form of reflection, which is specific to the subject constituted by social man. "Construction," as a reproduction of the object in concepts by the subject, is established on the basis of reflection. Divorced from reflection, the construction will lack necessary materials, lose its basis, and will be unable to avoid plunging into subjective concoctions. In brief, reflection is the most essential characteristic of man's cognition and the theory of reflection is the basic theory of Marxist epistemology. The "theory of choice" and "theory of construction" in modern epistemology give prominence to the position and role of the subject in the cognitive process. These have rational elements and can be used as elements in developing the dialectical materialist theory of reflection. However, they certainly cannot be used to replace the theory of reflection. This is because, regardless of whether we speak of the "theory of choice" or the "theory of construction," both one-sidedly exaggerate the subjective element in cognition and make it absolute. Thus, there is the danger of such ideas heading toward subjective idealism or even becoming subjective idealism themselves.

3. In the historical viewpoint aspect, they mainly use the "theory of subjective patterns" and the "theory of choice" to replace the historical materialist theory of social determinism. Some scholars hold that the social sphere is the sphere of man, that people act in accord with their own needs, goals, and will, and that the pattern of social development is a subjective pattern and, to a certain degree, is determined by man's will. They also claim that history involves free choice and that the historical materialist theory of social determination is a mechanistic theory. This view is completely wrong.

The social pattern is a specific pattern and its function is that, by regulating and controlling man's activities, it determines the road and orientation of the development of social history. It is different from the spontaneity of the natural world, as persons who act within the social sphere all have aims, hopes, and emotions. It can be said that without man's actions there would be no social history and, of course, we could not talk about a social pattern. However, the inseparable link between the social pattern and man's activities cannot be used as a

basis for negating the objective nature of the social pattern. For example, if people did not engage in the activity of commodity production, of course we could not have the law of value. The law of value was formed and started to play a role with man's commodity production activities, but it is not controlled by man's will. Rather, "afterward, an innate, silent, natural inevitability came into play."<sup>12</sup> Regardless of whether people recognize it or not, and whether or not people are willing to accept it, it always plays a role. This shows the objectivity of the social pattern. Although activities by people are necessary links in forming and realizing the pattern, they cannot change the objective nature of the social pattern, and we cannot say that the social pattern is a "subjective pattern." People's activities are controlled by the aims and the will within their minds. Putting forward and realizing aims is an activity of the historical subject and is an important manifestation of man's subjectivity. However, this is not to say that the essence of social activity is man's will and aspirations. This is because behind man's will and aspirations exists a deep-going objective root that promotes social advance. Engels said long ago, if we want to discover the pattern of social development, we must "investigate the driving forces which consciously or unconsciously, and indeed very often unconsciously, lie behind the motives of men in their historical activities and which constitute the ultimate driving forces of history."<sup>13</sup> People's aims and motivations have an inevitable link to the needs of the subject. These needs are objective and are, in the end, determined by the level of development of the social productive forces and not by the subject himself.

The historical development of society is a process involving mutual roles for the subject and the object. The subject's choices are restricted by objective conditions. Marx's theory of social determinism both fully affirms the position and creativity of man as the subject of history and scientifically reveals the restrictions to which man's ideas and actions are subject. He incisively pointed out: "People create their own history, but they cannot create it as they wish and they cannot create it under conditions they choose themselves. Rather, they create it under conditions which they directly encounter and which are already fixed, inherited from the past."<sup>14</sup> The social environment provides the conditions that restrict people's actions and intentions. It is the social stage that man uses for his activities. Under these conditions, in the end it is the economic conditions, the modes of production of material goods, that play the primary determining role. Next in importance are the political conditions, the class structure, and political system determined by the production modes. Finally, there are the mental traditions which exist in people's minds. Each generation of people does not plan these conditions for themselves. Rather, they result from the activities of the previous generation. This idea of Marx resolves, in a materialist dialectical way, the question of the relationship between the subject and the object in the historical sphere. It opposes both the voluntarism of

subjective idealism and the fatalism of metaphysics. This is the only scientific viewpoint of history.

The followers of mechanistic theories deny that people have a choice in social history activities. Rather, they describe the activities of social history as a chain of objective cause and effect which has already been fixed and cannot be changed. Historical materialist determinism is different from mechanistic theory, because it sees the role of the subject as a link contained within the chain of inevitability. The realization of the social pattern, as the result of the mutual roles of the subject and the object, manifests the choice function of the subjects. The innate relationships of the social process revealed by the social pattern are often not a single-value, linear cause and effect relationship, but rather a multivalued, nonlinear cause and effect relationship. It provides the subject with an area of possibility comprising multiple possibilities. Within this space, the social subject can make appropriate choices proceeding from actual objective conditions. This area of possibility forms the limits of people's freedom of choice, the "degree of freedom." Only when diverse possibilities exist in objective reality is it possible to provide an opportunity for choice. And only a choice based on objective possibility is a realistic and correct choice. This dialectical materialist "theory of choice" or historical determinism completely overcomes the defects of the mechanistic theory.

The appearance of idealist subjectified tides of thought in philosophy has a deep-going social and historical background. As Engels said, following the major development of the sphere of natural science, materialism will inevitably change its form. In the same way, idealism will change into variegated forms in order to engage in struggle with materialism. The world existed prior to man's emergence. This is an ironclad fact proven by science. The barefaced idealism of statements such as "being is that which is perceived" can no longer really serve as a weapon with which to attack materialism and, thus, idealism needs to seek new weapons and methods. The philosophy of "subjectification" is one of the "new weapons" produced by subjective idealism. The development of natural science in contemporary times, especially the establishment of quantum physics and the theory of relativity, has meant that the role of the subjective factors in scientific cognition has become increasingly prominent. Because most natural scientists and philosophers do not understand dialectical thought, they have become confused about questions such as whether matter exists independently of man's consciousness and whether cognition is objective reflection of the external world. The idealists have thus taken the opportunity to distort the meaning of discoveries in the natural sciences and have claimed that the ideal of "reflection in accordance with the real features of objective things" has been shattered and that, following the continuing increase of the subjective elements and their roles in the cognitive process, the orientation of cognitive development will move farther away from any objective truth. In modern Western bourgeois philosophy, humanism and

scientism have begun to merge, and the "philosophical anthropology" that has emerged has attempted to establish an "overall philosophy" with man at its center. "Western Marxists" have also criticized Marx's successors for ignoring man and subjectivity in cognition and have proposed restoring man's status. They have also criticized and negated the dialectical materialist theory of reflection and historical materialist determinism as being mechanistic theories. In the middle of the 20th century, the Yugoslavian "practice faction" also tried to use the "ontology of practice" and "subjective epistemology" to replace dialectical materialism and this produced international effects. Following the development of our country's opening to the outside world in recent years, these international ideological tides have begun to infuse the domestic philosophical circles and have formed an erroneous tendency of idealist "subjectification" in philosophical research. Some people have, under the pretense of "developing subjectivity," completely negated the basic principles of Marxist philosophy and advocated subjective idealism, abstract humanism, as well as individualism, anarchism, and so on. I believe that the criticism of these mistaken trends and clarifying what is right and what is wrong in research on subjectivity are important tasks for theoretical circles at present.

#### Footnotes

1. Marx and Engels, *Feuerbach*, p. 87
2. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 517.
3. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 3, p. 398.
4. *Selected Works of Stalin*, Last Volume, p. 438.
5. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 2, p. 445.
6. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels* Volume 26, p. 324.
7. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 1, p. 287.
8. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 58.
9. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 142.
10. *Ibid.*, Volume 38, p. 181.
11. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 38, p. 228.
12. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 23, p. 394.
13. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 245.
14. *Ibid.*, Volume 1, p. 603.



## How To Grasp the Stipulations of the Essence of Socialism

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[Text] To grasp the stipulations of the essence of socialism is an important task in our current drive of socialist education, as it will help us correctly understand scientific socialism and establish firm faith in socialism.

Marxist philosophy tells us that essence is an inherent internal stipulation which distinguishes one thing from another. One thing is what it is and is different from other things because it has its own essence. The fact that socialism is socialism is also determined by its own special internal character. The replacement of capitalism by socialism is a general trend in contemporary world history. Socialism has gone through a history of more than 70 years in its establishment and development in the world as a whole, and has had a history of more than 40 years in China. After several decades of development under the Communist Party, it has established, on the economic level, the socialist public ownership of the means of production, the principle of to each according to his ability and from each according to his work, the planned commodity economy, and so on. On the political level, it has established the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. And, on the ideological level, it has established socialist spiritual civilization with the communist ideology at its core. All these have the socialist public ownership system as their basis. They are the most intrinsic characteristics of socialism, and are the essential stipulations of developing socialism. Without these stipulations, socialism will depart from its orientation. Although the ways and forms of the development of socialism are many and varied and do not have a set pattern, the above-mentioned intrinsic characteristics and essential stipulations of socialism are fixed and can be grasped. With this as our basic criterion, we will not deviate from the socialist orientation in reform.

How should we grasp the stipulations of the essence of socialism in practice, and promote the steady development of reform? My personal opinion is as follows:

First, on the economic level, the important thing is to take public ownership as the mainstay in the reform of the ownership system. Members of the "elite" who engaged in bourgeois liberalization believed that privatization was the answer to enterprises owned by the whole people. They attacked the public ownership system as "bondage to the development of modern productive forces," and asserted that public ownership meant no fixed responsibility, everybody eating from the same big pot, and low efficiency. They argued that private ownership alone could arouse people's enthusiasm and was the "fundamental way out." They were, in

fact, attempting to capitalize our socialist enterprises. We must resolutely oppose their idea of "reform," as it is a negation of socialism. That the ownership structure of socialism should have the public ownership system as its mainstay at the present stage is an unshakable concept. In order to uphold the socialist orientation in reform, we must uphold the mainstay position of the public ownership system. The tenets of Marxism tell us that the nature of things is the sum of its various attributes. These attributes all have their respective roles, some essential, others not. The essential attributes play a decisive role in the development of things, while the nonessential attributes play a secondary role in the development of things. China is now at the initial stage of socialism. At this stage, the development of the individual and private economies may be allowed and encouraged within given limits, provided that they do not infringe upon the mainstay position of the public ownership system. This is because the private economy is not the essential attribute of socialism, while the public ownership system is. The latter determines the nature and orientation of socialism. A socialist country must uphold the mainstay position of the public ownership system. Only in this way can the position of the laboring people as masters of the country be guaranteed economically and politically. Only in this way will we have unified socialist interests and a solid material force, ensure well-coordinated social and economic development, and achieve the objective of common prosperity. Only in this way will our society have a strong rallying force. In order to strengthen the mainstay position of the socialist public ownership system, we must strengthen management over the individual and private economies and restrict their negative impacts. Provided that we uphold the mainstay position of the public economy and make continuous efforts to explore and improve the ownership structure with public ownership as the mainstay and the coexistence of various forms of ownership, we will be able to promote the development of the productive forces while maintaining the socialist nature.

Upholding the practice of relying mainly on distribution according to work and allowing the coexistence of different forms of distribution is another major question of principle in reform. Over the years, our efforts to reform the forms of distribution and explore ways to resolve the problems of egalitarianism and unfair distribution have produced some effects. However, while these are going on, fresh injustice in the form of polarized income has occurred. These problems must be further tackled in the deepening reforms. While opposing egalitarianism and allowing some people to become better-off first, we must also uphold the orientation of common prosperity and guard against and overcome phenomena of unfair distribution. Members of the "elite" who engaged in bourgeois liberalization advocated intensifying this polarization. They fostered the so-called "middle class," that is, the new bourgeoisie, and tried to establish their bourgeois democracy and capitalist society with this "middle class" as the mainstay. We must resolutely oppose this. When formulating our policy of distribution, we must

always uphold the principle of plain living, hard work, and building the country through diligence and thrift; and we must adhere to the policy of basing distribution on production. Excessively high personal income must be subject to the regulation of progressive personal income tax and inheritance tax. Seeking exorbitant profits by illegal means must be severely punished according to law. In short, effective measures must be taken to continuously explore ways and means to oppose egalitarianism and uphold the orientation of common prosperity.

Second, on the political level, it is necessary to strengthen the party's leadership and consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship in the reform of the political system in order to ensure the political orientation of socialism. In the reform of the political system, our efforts to develop socialist democracy and strengthen the socialist legal system, give full scope to the role of People's Congresses at various levels, uphold and safeguard the systems of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist Party, and develop socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual aid among nationalities, and improve party and government leadership have been obvious to all. For some time, however, people inside and outside the party who are eager to promote bourgeois liberalization have been doing their utmost to oppose the party's leadership and the guiding role of Marxism in the name of reforming the political system. In their attempt to guide our political reform astray, they have been agitating for the bourgeois multiparty and parliamentary systems of the West and advocating that we adopt the tripartite political system of capitalist countries. Their deeds have produced very vile influences in society, and this is something we will never tolerate. At no time should we forget the need to strengthen the guidance of Marxism and the party's leadership and to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship. Only in this way can we guarantee that our political reform will advance in the correct direction, ensure the long-term peace and stability of our country, and give full scope to the superiority of socialism.

Third, in the reform and development of socialism, we must attach equal importance to spiritual and material development. This is the intrinsic requirement of the essence of socialism. Socialist spiritual and material development are interdependent and serve as each other's goal. We cannot simply stress material development and ignore spiritual development in reform. Due to certain mistakes in our party's guidance some time ago, some localities have been stressing material development at the expense of spiritual development. As a result, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization has been spreading unchecked. The ideological and cultural arena is flooded with the bourgeois world outlook, outlook on life, and sense of value, and long-suppressed evil social practices have begun to reemerge. Many people, particularly the youth and children, have been affected and poisoned. This not only dealt a serious blow to socialist spiritual development, it also became the ideological origin of the 1989 turmoil. This is a matter worth pondering and taking warning against.

Socialist spiritual development has socialist public ownership as its basis. It provides material development with spiritual drive and intellectual support, and ensures its socialist orientation. If we stress material development at the expense of spiritual development, socialist economic development will deviate from the correct orientation, and the fruits of construction and reform already achieved will go down the drain. In our reform, we must adhere to the guidance of Marxism and persevere in combining the communist ideal with the actual task of realizing socialist modernization. We must meet the needs of reform; strengthen the contingent of ideological and political workers; uphold the socialist ideological position; persist in educating the vast numbers of cadres and the masses on patriotism, socialism, collectivism, and the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people; extensively launch activities of learning from Lei Feng and other advanced personages; and foster a new socialist generation of better-educated and self-disciplined people with high ideal and moral integrity. We must resolutely oppose the mentality of renouncing the high ideal, "doing everything for money," stressing personal gain at the expense of the overall interests of the country and the nation, and fawning on things foreign while despising our own motherland and people. We must guide and encourage people to give full scope to their creativeness and enthusiasm in "realizing the four modernizations and invigorating China," and strive to promote the smooth progress of modernization, reform, and the opening of the country to the outside world.

#### How To Understand the Development of Socialism as a Unity of Progress and Tortuosity?

HK0112031090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 90 pp 45-46

[Article by Ye Xiaowen (0673 1420 2429), deputy director, United Front Department of the CYL Central Committee]

[Text] Since the 20th century, socialism has been advancing through setbacks and frustrations in its development from an ideal to reality, from victory in one country to victory in many countries, but it has also constantly run into difficulties and problems in its course of advance. This is a vivid embodiment of the fact that the development of socialism is a course of history that combines progress with tortuosity. A correct understanding of this point will be of immense significance to our efforts to correctly handle the setbacks encountered by socialist society in the course of its development, establish a firm faith in socialism, and build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Materialist dialectics tells us that everything develops in an upward spiral, not a straight line. In other words, everything has to go through a tortuous course of development, and the same is true with the development of the socialist cause. Comrade Mao Zedong used to say that "the future is bright, but the road is tortuous." He was, in fact, incisively pointing out to us that the development of things is a unity of progress and tortuosity.

How then should we understand the development of socialism as a unity of progress and tortuosity?

Progress is the inherent law in the great historical course of socialism, which has come about as the negation of capitalism. It is true that capitalism has created productive forces without parallel in history, but what accompanies this kind of socialized production is the private ownership of the means of production, and there are insurmountable contradictions between the two. The development of socialism will necessarily lead to its replacement by a higher form of social system, and that is where socialism comes in. Thus, when we talk about progress in the development of socialism, we are actually implying two notions. First, socialism is a course of development that negates capitalism. Second, socialism is a course of development that cannot be subdued. Socialism has great vitality and a bright future precisely because it is a new thing which replaces the old and doomed capitalist system.

Tortuosity is something to be expected in the great historical course of socialism. First, tortuosity in the development of socialism embodies the ideas of protractedness and complications. All social forms must go through a long historical process in their transformation and development. The more profound the qualitative transformation, the more tortuous and complicated will this process be. From the budding of capitalism to the ultimate establishment of its economic and political systems, several centuries have elapsed. It was a time marked by the pains of labor, violent social upheavals, and repeated battling against the feudal forces. Such is the replacement and transformation process in a society under the exploiting system. If socialist society, whose task it is to thoroughly eliminate exploitation, is to replace capitalism—the last exploiting system on earth which has been in existence for centuries—and to bring about the greatest and most profound change in the history of mankind, it is impossible not to encounter all kinds of setbacks and difficulties. Second, tortuosity in the development of socialism embodies the idea of a formidable task. As socialist countries are all established on the base of underdeveloped or not very developed capitalism, they are compelled to engage in the commercialization, socialization, and modernization of production, historical tasks which “should have been” accomplished during the development stage of capitalism. The “late-developing” socialist countries are thus left with a whole range of difficult problems that must be tackled with unremitting and unbending efforts in their economic and social development. They are also left with a whole range of new tasks never before contemplated by the writers of Marxist classics and which require repeated practice and prudent experimentation to trace the law and find the answer. Since socialism is an undertaking never attempted before and with no previous lessons to learn from, we can only grope along and press forward by closely following the actual conditions in China. Comrade Mao Zedong once said, “The idea that everything will be smooth sailing and that we can

achieve success easily without any hardship, frustration, and effort in our socialist undertaking is sheer fantasy.”<sup>1</sup>

The development of socialism is the unity of progress and tortuosity. It is by no means easy to truly understand this “unity” and scientifically grasp this “unity” in complicated social practice.

In their handling of the question of socialism, reactionary forces abroad and people engaged in bourgeois liberalization at home tend to deny progress and exaggerate tortuosity. This is a habitual trick employed by the enemies of socialism. In their attack against the temporary difficulties and problems that have cropped up in the development of socialism, they seized upon one point and ignore the overall picture. They spread sentiments of pessimism and despair, and played up people's lopsided thinking in their efforts to draw erroneous conclusions on political issues so as to shake, even crush, people's faith in socialism.

Comrades who lack confidence in and are skeptical about the development of socialism only see tortuosity but not progress. They do not understand that the vitality of socialism lies neither in brief spells of smoothness or frustration, nor in temporary success or difficulty, but in the fact that it is a connecting link between what comes before and what follows, and as a dialectical negation in the long chain of history. What matters are not the defects and drawbacks that exist at present, but whether it can remedy the defects and eliminate the drawbacks through reform and improvement on its own initiative. What matters is not whether there are ready-made formulas with which to shape reality, but whether it can constantly transform itself and develop in reality. What matters is not how many insurmountable obstacles and difficulties it must tackle, but whether the masses, who are the source of strength in surmounting obstacles and difficulties, are at its beck and call. If success is not judged on a case-by-case basis or over a short period, but is measured in terms of the entire course of history, no one can deny that the development of socialism is the greatest practice of the 20th century. The fact that the socialist cause has suffered temporary and local frustrations can neither obliterate the brilliant achievements it has created, nor change the trend of historical progress.

People who are eager to seek quick success tend to see only progress and underestimate tortuosity in socialist construction. Although socialism has been making progress all along despite setbacks and frustrations, the impression 20th century people have toward the development of socialism has been, to a fairly large extent, related to the smooth development of socialism in this century. While local frustrations will cause some people to lose heart, partial victory will cause others to become dizzy with success. Thus, tortuosity is often regarded as something that has nothing to do with the development of socialism. A salient expression of this lopsided understanding is the recurrent erroneous tendency to seek quick success in socialist construction. This has resulted in the repeated mistake of aiming high and going all-out

regardless of national conditions and capabilities, with sharp increases and sharp falls being recorded. Our socialist society is born of a semicolonial and semifeudal society. As we have already skipped the capitalist stage, we cannot skip the primary stage of socialism. As we have not developed socialism on the base of a modernized capitalist commodity economy, we must go all-out to develop the socialist planned commodity economy in our quest for socialist modernization. As we are a country with a vast population but a poor economic foundation, we cannot afford to do things by trial and error. We must establish a firm guiding ideology for sustained, steady, and coordinated development, and truly shift the focus of economic work to the orbit of overall balance, rational structure, and good performance.

What merits deep thought is that the philosophy behind the plot of "peaceful evolution" engineered by hostile forces abroad also denies progress and plays up tortuosity. They are not ignorant of the fact that the advance of socialism cannot be "contained." They just throw all kinds of interference in the way of advance in their attempt to make tortuosity play the decisive role and ultimately replace progress altogether in the process of development. They want to make the development of socialism so "tortuous" that it loses its bearing. In this way, they hope that they will achieve their aim of triumphing over socialism "without fighting."

It can thus be seen that correctly grasping the objective law of the upward spiral of things and understanding the development of socialism as the unity of progress and tortuosity will have great significance to our firmly following the socialist road, resisting bourgeois liberalization, and frustrating the plot of "peaceful evolution." By relying on Marxist philosophy, we will have no difficulty seeing through the complicated and confusing phenomena of the contemporary socialist movement and applying irrefutable logic to draw a clear picture that shows the historical course of development of socialism as the unity of progress and tortuosity. This picture will bear the eye-catching caption: The road is tortuous, but the future is bright.

#### Footnote

1. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 2, p. 774.

#### The Green Hill Is Not Old Yet—On the Television Play *Still the Same Green Hill*

HK3011090890 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 90 p 47

[Article by Du Gao (2629 7559)]

[Text] Television dramas seem to be increasing in length in recent years. Some comrades have thus appealed for better single-episode dramas to give full scope to the strong points of teleplays in keenly reflecting life in reality. Admittedly, a short single-episode drama cannot

compare with serialized dramas, which can accommodate the richness of life, give expression to complicated social contradictions, portray a great variety of characters, and unfold a plot that is full of twists and turns. Nonetheless, a good single-episode drama can, through a seemingly simple story, mold unique characters, convey profound ideas, and delineate points of great social significance. The single-episode drama *Still the Same Green Hill*, produced by the Liaoning Television Studio (screenplay by Guo Zishi [6753 1311 1395] and Liu Jishu [0491 4949 2579], and directed by Liu Jishu), is a successful production which is unadorned in style yet profound in message. From the play one can see that the producers are concerned about changes in real life and have tried hard to unearth from life materials that are rich in social significance. They have poured their deep concern and love for the people into this production.

The protagonist Wu Yimin is a deputy prefectural party committee secretary responsible for political and legal work. On his way to the provincial capital to attend a meeting, his car breaks down on a remote mountain road. As he steps out of his car, he finds himself at a place called Toad's Gorge where he had once fought and recuperated. Zhao Dashan, who lived in the village there, had once saved his life. Forty years ago, Uncle Zhao had looked after this badly wounded soldier of the "8th Route Army" as though this sick man were his loved one. Twenty years ago when Wu Yimin suffered another misfortune during the Cultural Revolution, it was again Uncle Zhao who sheltered him. Unable to suppress the great thrill in his heart, he runs all the way down the familiar hill path and pushes open the wattle door of Uncle Zhao's house. However, he is given the cold shoulder. An atmosphere of grief and indignation envelops this peasant household. Wu Yimin little expected that it was none other than he who had caused misfortune to befall this household. While he moved higher and higher up the official ladder and became busier and busier, he had signed away the fate of Uncle Zhao's granddaughter, who worked as an attendant, without so much as an investigation.

This reality deals a heavy blow to Wu Yimin. He was jubilant when he arrived, but now he is overcome by remorse and regret. He tells Danhong that he will redress her wrong and reverse the verdict on her case as soon as he returns to the office, and begs for her forgiveness. Surprisingly, this simple country girl says to the prefectural party committee secretary: "If you do not know my grandpa, if my grandpa had not saved your life, and if you had not been nursed back to health in our house, would you have offered to redress my case?" Wu Yimin can only lower his head and ponder.... When he becomes aware of the injustice being done, and his thoughts return to the anti-Japanese war period when Uncle Zhao, donning his straw rain cape and hunting gun in hand, stood as sentry for his man from the "8th Route Army," Wu Yimin can suppress his emotions no longer. Crying and shouting, he runs all the way to the top of the hill. Yes, it is the same green hill, the same people, but some



of our cadres have gradually become far removed from the masses and reality in their comfortable working environment. They have become strangers to themselves, not just to the masses. Faced with this green hill which had once nursed him, this old man who had once saved his life, Wu Yimin's eyes are blurred by tears, but his mind is suddenly clear. From the expression in his eyes and on his face when he departs, we see more than remorse and regret. We also see fond memories of the past and the resolution to act. At this point, we can all the more appreciate the playwrights' intention in comparing the "green hill" to the flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the people. The green hill will never grow old, and the flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the people will always stand erect and remain evergreen like the green hill.

This seemingly accidental interlude in Wu Yimin's life, this minor episode which cannot be simpler, is, in fact, so poignant and realistic in substance that the tens and thousands of communists before the television screen should be aroused to do some soul-searching and thinking as the protagonist has done. If they had found themselves in Wu Yimin's position, what would they have said in answer to the girl's questions? This is where the practical significance of the play lies. This is also where the strength of art lies: Rather than lecturing, it enlightens people and sets them thinking.

*Still the Same Green Hill* may be artistically immature, but its strong realistic significance and impact have caused us to feel very disturbed for a long time. This is quite an accomplishment for a single-episode drama.

### Display One's Skills Under Given Circumstances

HK0112034090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 90 p 48

[Article by Li Jianyong (2621 1696 3057)]

[Text] It is a pleasure to see the publication of several articles extolling the virtues of short essays. Frankly, I do not dislike long articles, but I am also fond of reading short articles, particularly essays. However, those "three-legged stereotypes" with stereotyped allusions, examples, and arguments which pass themselves off as essays are not among my favorites. It is precisely for this reason that I prefer as leisure-reading materials books on the history of fine arts, biology, the art of war, the art of boxing, and so on, in addition to essays.

Seen from the associative point of view, there are many points in common between different things in this world. Boxing, for one, bears close resemblance to essays. Whatever his background or claim to fame, a good boxer will display his skills only under given circumstances. He will give his best as he punches left and right and dodges deadly hits. He does not have to worry about having no place to display his prowess because the ring is so small. When we watch boxers fight, we see their tactics and training, not how many punches they have exchanged or

how many rounds they have fought. I remember that when I read historical novels when I was small, I always worried that generals using short weapons would be no match for foot soldiers using long spears. It was not until after I had grown up that I came to realize that weapons were not martial arts after all. Although literary works may be grouped under novels, drama, poetry, prose, and essays, these are but differences in genre, just as weapons may come in the form of snake spears, crane swords, dragon hammers, and tiger swords. None is better than the other. Thus, there is no reason why some "masters" of essays should be despised and scorned.

The quality of art should not be judged by the size of its carrier. While it requires great skill to write a huge-sized character, is it not art just the same to carve the entire *Preface to the Lanting Collection of Poems* on the cross-section of a thread of hair? If I have to choose between something long but much diluted and something short but much distilled, I would prefer the latter.

It is not easy to write a long article, but it is particularly difficult to write a short and terse one. The limited space means that there is not much room in which to maneuver. Besides, like admiring hills, people would prefer to see some ups and downs in a piece of writing. All twists and turns, the introduction, elucidation of the theme, transition to another viewpoint, and summing up, as well as the tempo and style of the writing have to be done within the given framework. Small wonder that Mr. Xiao Ding [5618 0002], editor in chief of JIEFANG RIBAO, had this to say in an article published in WENXUE BAO: "Among different genres of writing, essays are the most difficult to write. They catch hold of matters of the greatest concern to most people with the most sensitive tentacles, and express the most profound ideas in the most incisive language." I think that essays are particularly difficult to write because they are so "compact." As described by the ancient poet Song Yu [1345 3768], "add one bit and it will become too long; take away one bit and it will become too short; apply powder and it will become too white; apply rouge and it will become too red."

Recently, many masters of letters have begun writing essays. This is what we would like to see. We welcome more masters of letters to join this contingent of writers writing short pieces. People love short essays and the times need short essays. Socialist literature is militant literature, and essays are the "line leaders" of militant literature. Some people may say that essays are "small columns," and as "shorties" in the family of men of letters, they are not good enough to be "line leaders." This is not true. Essays shoulder the mission of piercing the stubborn, arousing the weak, lashing at the bad, fostering the good, elucidating aspects of life, and promoting the truth. The truth, we know, is always simple and direct. One may keep talking when he has something to say, but should be brief when he has little to say. Why say more than is proper? As we can see, "a good boxer displays his skills only under given circumstances."

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